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# The Catholic Historical Review

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## FATHER JACQUES MARQUETTE, S.J. HIS PRIESTHOOD IN THE LIGHT OF THE JESUIT ROMAN ARCHIVES


By

Ernest J. Burrus*


The purpose of the present study is to make known what the documents reposing in the Jesuit archives in Rome have to say about the priesthood of Father Jacques Marquette, S.J. Until recent years no one had called into question his priestly status. But in 1949 the late Joseph C. Short published an article in *La revue de l'Université Laval* [III (January, 1949), 436-441] entitled "Jacques Marquette, Catechist," in which he expressed the opinion that Marquette had never been ordained a priest. Father Short, not being familiar with either the terminology or procedure of the Society of Jesus at the time, interpreted Marquette's wish to go to the Canadian Mission without studying dogmatic theology as evidence that he lacked the desire to become a priest, and considered the absence of authorization from Rome for his being raised to the priesthood as proof that he had not been ordained. Short's opinion has, in the main, been echoed by Francis Borgia Steck, O.F.M., in his essay, "Question of Marquette's Priesthood," which is number six in a series of ten *Essays Relating to the Jolliet-Marquette Expedition, 1673* (mimeographed) which Father Steck issued privately in 1953.

As the subject is not without importance for North American history, it may be of interest to see what the records in Rome state


* Father Burrus, S.J., is a member of the staff of the Jesuit Historical Institute in Rome.

concerning Marquette's priesthood, to clarify the term "spiritual coadjutor"—the rank held by Marquette in the Jesuit Order—and to explain the course of studies leading to the priesthood to be pursued at that time, in contradistinction to those required today by canon law.

The twenty-one years (1654-1675) that Marquette spent in the Society of Jesus were recorded not only in the official documents of the two provinces where he lived but also in those reposing at central headquarters in Rome. This is as true of the twelve years he spent in preparing for the priesthood as of the nine years he lived as a priest. It is only with the latter that we are here directly concerned. These documents are found in two distinct collections. The first is the repository for the official business of the Jesuit Generalate in Rome and is known as the Archivum Romanum Societatis Jesu; the second is that of the Procurator General of the Society and is cited officially by its Italian title, Fondo Gesuitico. As nearly all the documents referred to here are deposited in the first collection, it is to be understood that references without further qualification are to it (the section will be given first and then the folio).

There were two main types of official reports which the superior of a province (called provincial) sent to the general in Rome: letters and catalogs. The latter were drawn up in two different forms. The first of these was issued annually and listed each member of the respective province by full name, indicating whether he was a priest or not, and furnishing his address, position, and ministry; such lists were called *catalogi breves*. A second and fuller form was sent to Rome on the occasion of the triennial province meeting and such were in consequence given the title of *catalogi triennales*. They had four sections. The first *(catalogus primus)* supplied such pertinent information as: full name, address, title (as in *breves*), birthplace, age, health, years in the order, years of study (if a scholastic or priest), length and nature of ministry to date, academic degrees (if a scholastic or priest), rank in the order (scholastic novice, lay brother novice, scholastic with simple vows, lay brother with simple vows, lay brother with final vows; if a priest: *sacerdos scholaris*—or its equivalent such as, *sacerdos votorum simplicium* or *pater*—spiritual coadjutor, professed of three vows, professed of four vows). The second section gave a character and talent rating of the individual members. The third listed the various houses and missions giving

the economic status of each. The fourth, termed *supplementum*, viz., *catalogi primi et secundi*, furnished such additional information as those who had died since the last triennial catalog, who had been admitted into the order, pronounced their vows and which, ordinations, dismissals, transference of members from one province to another, etc. To facilitate finding the desired information, each triennial catalog—since such often ran to over 200 pages of folio size—was accompanied by an alphabetical index.

These catalogs were part of the provincial's official report to Rome and as such were signed by him when any doubt as to their authenticity might arise; when entrusted personally to a bearer, this was not usually deemed as necessary. The term "triennial" is an exceedingly elastic one. There was no set day of the year when the report had to be drawn up. Further, the three years often lengthened into four, five, six, or even more, due to conditions in the country where the province meeting was to be held and the catalogs issued. Many catalogs, both *breves* and *triennales*, are no longer extant. The form of designating the year varied greatly: we find *anni, anno, ad annum*, with an occasional *exeunte (is, em)* or *ineunte (is, em)* or even the day and month of the year. Although the headings *(nomen, patria, aetas*, etc.) of the first and second sections were usually printed and the information inserted by hand, sometimes the respective year was likewise printed, but more frequently this was also written in by hand.

But let us come to Father Marquette's record as a priest. Because he was a member of the Province of Champagne *(Provincia Campaniae)*, he will be found regularly in the catalogs of this province, both *breves* and *triennales*. By going in 1666 to the Canadian Mission which had been entrusted to the Province of France *(Provincia Franciae)*, he will be subsequently also recorded in the catalogs of that province.

The 1667 Champagne catalog *(brevis)* is the first report of the provincial to list Marquette as a priest.[1] Under the heading "Extra Provinciam" are three priests of the Province of Champagne: P. Theodoricus Beschefer, P. Joannes Pierron and P. Jacobus Marquette. A bracket including the three names indicates that the three were then in Canada *("in nova Francia")*. The next five *breves*, those of 1668, 1669, 1671-72, 1672-73, 1673-74, the only extant

[1] *Camp. 19*, f. 88.

annual catalogs of the Province of France during the rest of Father Marquette's lifetime, furnish identically the same information.[2]

There are two triennial catalogs of the Province of Champagne extant for this same period. The 1669 *triennalis* (the first issued since 1665) lists Marquette twice and asks us to consult the catalog of the province in which he was then working (that of France in his case) for additional information. First we are informed that P. Jacobus Marquette had gone to Canada *(in novam Franciam)* and hence we are not to expect to find him in the regular *catalogus primus* which lists only those working in the home province.[3] Secondly, P. Jacobus Marquette is listed under those who have been ordained since the issuance of the last catalog in 1665. It states that he was ordained at Toul (France) on March 7, 1666.[4] The next *triennalis* of the Champagne Province is that of 1672. P. Jacobus Marquette is listed among those residing outside the province *(Degentes extra Provinciam)* and specifically in Canada *(in nova Francia)*.[5]

Let us now turn to the catalogs of the Province of France, and first to the *breves*. The Canadian Mission in the 1667 catalog is listed under two headings: the College of Quebec and the missions among the Indians. At the first are stationed six priests and one scholastic; these are followed by the sixteen missionary priests, Marquette among them, *(Missionarii . . . Patres)* with the place and sacred ministry designated.[6] If we deny sacerdotal character to Father Marquette, we must logically do the same for all those similarly designated.

Beginning with the 1668 catalog, not only the College of Quebec, but also the various missions are listed separately, with the priest or priests working in each designated clearly as such; where there is a lay brother helping the missionary priests, his status as a lay brother is indicated and his manual work is specified. In that year Father Marquette was stationed at the Holy Ghost Mission, with Father Claude Allouez as superior and Father Louis Nicolas as a fellow missionary priest.[7]

The 1669 catalog brings no change for Father Marquette; but Father Claude Dablon is now superior of this mission and Allouez

[2] *Camp. 19*, f. 98, 123v, 148v, 175, 183v, respectively.
[3] *Camp. 11*, f. 278.
[4] *Camp. 11*, f. 282.
[5] *Camp. 12*, f. 87.
[6] *Franc. 23*, f. 232.
[7] *Franc. 23*, f. 245.

is a fellow missionary of Marquette.[8] The same status obtains the following year; the only new item that the 1670 catalog adds is that Father Marquette is now studying the Algonquin language.[9] A fuller entry is found in the next extant annual provincial report to carry his name, that of 1672.[10] Father Marquette is here listed in charge of both the Huron and Algonquin missions of Saint Ignatius; for want of sufficient lay brothers, he is assisted by two servants. The report is signed by the superior of the Province of France, Joannes Pinette, and dated from Paris, October 2, 1672.

The next annual report of the provincial is also signed, this time as J. Pinette, again from Paris, but somewhat later in the year, viz., December 1, 1673. Under the same general heading as in the previous catalog, viz., "In Missionibus" of Nova Francia, Father Marquette is still in charge of the same mission, but is now helped by only one servant. The provincial also informs the general about Marquette's part in the historic expedition in the spring of the very year of the report.[11]

In the annual report of 1674 Father Marquette is assigned an assistant in the person of Father Anthony Silvy. Their mission is among the Ottawas, but opposite the names of the two missionary priests, the general is informed that they are preparing a new mission to the south where recently many new tribes were discovered. This report is also signed by the provincial, now Stephanus de Champs, and dated November 23, 1674.[12] As word had reached France of the death of Father Marquette before the issuance of the next annual catalog, his name was omitted from it.

The triennial catalogs of the Province of France also record Father Marquette's activity as a missionary priest in Canada.[13] The index to the 1669 catalog lists him as number 674 in the list; we turn to number 674 on folio 172 and find that P. Jacobus Marquette born in Laon on June 10, 1637, is now enjoying good health (*"vires firmae"*); he entered the order on October 8, 1654, at Nancy; the studies he had pursued in the order are two years of philosophy

[8] *Franc. 23*, f. 261. [9] *Franc. 23*, f. 275.

[10] *Franc. 23*, f. 302v; I do not find Marquette's name in the 1671 catalog.

[11] *Franc. 23*, f. 320.

[12] *Franc. 23*, ff. 336v-340v contains the entire signed report on the Canadian Mission.

[13] *Franc. 14* contains both triennial catalogs; the folios are indicated in the text of the present article.

and several months of moral theology; he taught seven years and has now been three years in the Canadian Mission. There are twenty-four priests in the entire mission, one scholastic (Philippus Pierson, to whom we shall return later), and eleven temporal coadjutors.

In the 1672 triennial report we find Father Marquette listed in the index as number 678; turning to this number on folio 285, there is the same more complete entry as in the previous catalog, except that now he is credited with six years in the Canadian Mission and has become a "Coadjutor Spiritualis formatus, 2 Julii 1671, in Canada." The Canadian Mission has received considerable reinforcements since the last triennial report, for there are now thirty-two priests including Marquette, one scholastic (*magister unus, non sacerdos,* who is not Marquette) and thirteen lay brothers, among whom there is no Marquette.

But it is the supplements to the triennial catalogs that indicate the specific changes that took place in the province and missions. That of 1669 informs us that there are three fathers from the Province of Champagne working in the Canadian Mission; the second listed is Father Marquette.[14] The 1672 supplement speaks twice of Father Marquette.[15] The first time he is listed among those from other provinces, working in Canada, and from the Champagne Province; the second time he is listed specifically under the heading of spiritual coadjutors.

The holograph formula of vows signed by Father Marquette and filed away by one of the Roman secretaries among the vows of spiritual coadjutors is still preserved.[16] The formula he wrote out and signed contains the phrase "et secundum eam [obedientiam], peculiarem circa puerorum eruditionem" found in the formula of all priests, whether professed of three vows or of four vows, or of spiritual coadjutors, and must be omitted from the formula of any non-priest, whether an approved scholastic, or a lay brother with simple or last vows.[17] The first part of the formula shows that he did not pronounce the vows of a professed Jesuit.

[14] *Franc. 14,* f. 224.

[15] *Franc. 14,* ff. 292v and 293v, respectively.

[16] *Gal. 28,* f. 42-42v.

[17] *Constitutions,* Part V, ch. 3; II, 505-519; III, 167-173. To save space, reference is made to an edition of the constitutions which is readily accessible to all, rather than attempt to quote profusely from them. This

A word should be said about the few letters during Marquette's years as a priest and still extant in the Roman archives. When Marquette wrote the general from Pont-à-Mousson on March 19, 1665, he had merely begun the study of cases of conscience and had not yet been ordained; the Roman secretary in preparing a brief memorandum for the general took cognizance of this fact. But when Father Marquette wrote the general from La Rochelle after his ordination, the secretary informs the general, "P. Jacobus Marquete *(sic)* pro litteris et facultate concessa canadensis missionis maximas agit gratias."[18]

Father François Le Mercier, superior of the entire Canadian Mission, upon receipt of Father General Oliva's letter urging that the Indian missions be extended, informed the general from Quebec on September 1, 1668, that to carry out his wishes four fathers had been chosen: Julien Garnier, Étienne de Carhiel, and Pierre Millet

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critical edition is in 3 vols., *Sancti Ignatii de Loyola, Constitutiones Societatis Jesu* (Rome, 1934-1938). They form Volumes 63-65 of the well known series, Monumenta Historica Societatis Jesu, to which several hundred libraries and universities subscribe. Father Marquette's autographed vows read, "Ego Jacobus Marquette promitto omnipotenti Deo coram eius Virgine Matre et tota coelesti curia, et tibi Reverendo Patri Gabrieli Druilletes, vice Praepositi Generalis Societatis Jesu et Successorum eius locum Dei tenenti, perpetuam paupertatem, castitatem et obedientiam, et secundum eam, peculiarem curam circa puerorum eruditionem iuxta modum in literis Apostolicis et constitutionibus dictae Societatis expressum, ad lacum Superiorem Algonquinorum in oppido Sanctae Mariae. Die 2ª mensis Julii, anno 1671. (signed) Jacobus Marquette." In the hand of the Roman secretary: Vota P. Jac. Marquette/Coad.Spirit/2. Jul. 1671/ apud Algonquinos (*Gal.* 28, f. 42-42v). Lay brothers regularly pronounced their vows in the vernacular—the archivists here assure me that in handling many thousands of original formulas of such vows they have found no exception. Here is an example of the formula pronounced by a lay brother in the same year as Marquette, "Je Claude Lallemand promets a Dieu tout puissant en presence de la Glorieuse Vierge Sa mere, et de toute la cour celeste et a vous Reverand Pere Claude Bouvier tenant la place de Dieu pour le Reverand Pere General de la Compagnie de Jesus et Ses Successeurs, Perpetuelle Pauureté, Chasteté, et obeissance, selon la forme Expressement contenue et Lettres Apostoliques et constitutions de la ditte Compagnie. A Chambery dans l'Eglise du College de la mesme compagnie, Le Second du mois de Feuurier de l'annee mil six cents septante un. Je Claud Lallemand" (*Gal. 34*, f. 101). Here as elsewhere French accents and spelling are kept as in the original.

[18] These two autograph letters are found in the Fondo Gesuitico, in the *Indipetae* section, Busta 26, numbers 126 and 156 respectively, and published in the *Archivum Historicum S. I.*, IV (Rome, 1935), 284-286.

to work among the Iroquois, and Jacques Marquette among the Algonquins. The superior then goes into detail about the ministry to be undertaken by each priest; when he comes to Father Marquette, he has this exceptionally high commendation to bestow upon him, "Lastly, to Father Claude Allouez (who is in charge of the Ottawa Mission, the most arduous of all because of the unheard-of barbarity of the natives, a mission some five hundred leagues away from here) we have sent Father Jacques Marquette, who has a good knowledge of Algonquin, is of sound health and strong body, of excellent character and tried virtue; and, because of his wonderfully gentle ways, most acceptable to the natives." The letter was written and signed by the superior.[19]

Father Marquette died during the night of May 18 to 19, 1675. Father Claude Dablon, superior of the mission at the time, wrote as was customary a circular letter to the various Jesuit communities to inform them of Marquette's death. The letter was signed by him and dated from Quebec, October 13, 1675. The letter that reached Rome bears the superscription, not in the hand of the message proper and signature, "Lettre circulaire du P. Jacques Marquette." It begins with the usual salutation, "Mon Reverend Père, Pax Christi" and enters immediately into the purpose of the message, "Cette Cy est pour donner advis a Vostre reverence de la mort du père Jacques Marquette de la province de Champaigne. . . ."[20] A few days later, October 25, 1675, and likewise from Quebec, the same superior wrote the general, "Jay ramassé autant que jay pû tous les memoirs du feu P. Marquette sur ses decouvertes."[21] The provincial curias regularly sent to Rome the obituary notices of the deceased of the province since the last provincial meeting. That of 1675-78 is entitled, "Summaria Vitae Mortuorum Societatis Jesu ex Provincia Campaniae a postrema Congregatione Provinciali habita anno 1675. Primus: P. Jacobus Marquette . . . formatus Coadjutor Spiritualis."[22]

Such are the documents that I have seen in the two archives that constantly refer to Marquette as a priest. All documents distinguish

[19] *Gal. 110 I*, f. 44-47v. The Roman secretary prepared a brief memorandum for the general, which read, "[missus est] ad Algonquinos P. Jac. Marquette . . . P. Jac. Marquette virib[us] firmis datus e[st] socius P. Cl[audio] Allouez, qui h[ab]et missionem o[mn]ium difficilli[mam] ob distantiam 500 leuca[rum] et ob barbariem incolarum."

[20] *Gal. 110 II*, f. 195-196v.

[21] *Gal. 110 I*, f. 62v.

[22] *Tolos. 23, Camp. Necrologia*, f. 410.

everywhere between priests and non-priests. The first are always given the title "Pater" (often abbreviated to P.) or "Père" (sometimes similarly abbreviated). Prescinding from a possible error (in several years of archival work, I have not detected a single one), this title was used exclusively of priests and was the only way on countless documents of distinguishing priests from non-priests. The triennial catalogs, as already indicated, gave even more specific information about the priesthood of the respective ordained Jesuit. That in popular parlance the title "Père," or its equivalent, could be given to a non-priest is self-evident; but that such was ever or could ever be the case in official documents of the order, there is not the slightest trace. Shopkeepers in some countries not infrequently bestow the title "monsignor" upon any one wearing the soutane, and with similar prodigality address every ecclesiastical dignitary as "Your Excellency." But no one has ever seriously held that such practice either conferred the respective titles upon those who did not possess them or that failure to bestow the title deprived those who did. The fact that Roman Catholic priests were often called "Mister" in Protestant countries and Anglican and other ministers "Father," does not prove the non-sacerdotal character of the first nor the priesthood of the second. In all instances only the official records can give certainty. Just as the *Official Catholic Directory* distinguishes between priests and non-priests so, too, did the Jesuit catalogs; otherwise boundless confusion would have resulted.[23]

A word should be added about the term "spiritual coadjutor." When the early Jesuits found that because of the fewness of their numbers much sacred ministry had to be neglected, in the spirit of the apostles choosing deacons, they set forth to Pope Paul III their need for helpers (coadjutors). This petition was for "priests to help in spiritual tasks and for laymen to help in temporal ones"; the authorization of the pope is a favorable reply to that request, granted on June 5, 1546, and in force from that date to the present time.[24]

[23] The need for such a universal observance was insisted upon in a recent issue of the *Catholic Historical Review* [XL (October, 1954), 350], by Francis Borgia Steck, O.F.M., while dealing with this very subject. He wrote, "'Father' is a title given to priests. . . ." But that Marquette was called "Father" would seem to be evident from the documents studied in this article.

[24] *Constitutions*, I, 171, "Quare nobis humiliter supplicari fecistis ut vobis quod Sacerdotibus qui vos in spiritualibus, et personis secularibus quae vos in temporalibus et officiis praedictis coadiuuent, uti possitis, licentiam et faculta-

The Examen[25] composed that year takes cognizance of this papal permission:

en esta Compañía se reçiben coadiutores spirituales y coadiutores temporales; spirituales en quanto son saçerdotes . . . temporales en quanto son seculares. . . ." The 1550 Examen makes the same distinction . . . "spirituales en quanto son sacerdotes teniendo conueniente sufficientia de letras para ayudar en las cosas spirituales; temporales en quanto, no tubiendo *(sic)* órdénes sacros, con letras o sin ellas puedan ayudar en las cosas exteriores necessarias." The 1556 and 1591 Spanish originals state even more emphatically, ". . . en esta Compañía se reçiben coadiutores spirituales y temporales. Los spirituales son sacerdotes . . . Los temporales . . . pueden ayudar en las cosas exteriores necessarias.

The corresponding Latin text, which has remained unchanged through the centuries, makes the same distinction.[26] The text merely records the distinction already juridically introduced by Pope Paul III. It read "qui sunt sacerdotes" in reference to the spiritual coadjutors and not any weaker form such as "oportet, debent, decet, convenit" or other similar terms, since their use would have led to ambiguity and the doubt whether such obligation or convenience might be dispensed with in view of some weightier motive. This did not mean that lay brothers might not be called upon to teach in class, but merely that such were not spiritual coadjutors, regardless of the work that they undertook. It was not at all infrequent in the old Society of Jesus for a lay brother to teach, and even today this is occasionally done. He did not thereby become a spiritual coadjutor or pronounce the vows of such, unless he was first ordained a priest and ceased to be a lay brother, and such a change was recorded in all subsequent official documents.

The formula of vows for the various grades were distinct throughout the history of the Jesuit Order. The constitutions give the texts

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tem concedere. . . ." The petition is granted in the same phraseology as the request.

[25] The Examen was written by St. Ignatius to acquaint the candidate with the order. It has the same force as the constitutions themselves. The Spanish texts here referred to are found in the Constitutions (II, 96-97).

[26] Examen ch. 6, in the Constitutions (III, 32), ". . . in hanc Societatem Coadiutores spirituales et temporales admittuntur: spirituales quidem, qui Sacerdotes sunt et litteris sufficienter ornati, ut in rebus spiritualibus Societatem iuvent; temporales vero, ad sacros Ordines non promoti. . . ." The Examen is found even in the 1635 (*sic*) spurious Amsterdam edition of the constitutions with its faked *Permissu Superiorum,* but is lacking in the unauthorized 1838 London edition.

of these various formulas.[27] Suffice it to note here that in all formulas of priests the clause "et secundum eam [obedientiam], peculiarem circa puerorum eruditionem" is to be found; and must be omitted from that of all non-priests; even of scholastics, who will, of course, be teaching boys, but simply do not vow to do so. For a non-priest to take the vows of a spiritual coadjutor had no meaning and no place in the order; for as long as one remained a scholastic, he took the vows proper to a scholastic, whether he was pronouncing such vows for the first time or was renewing them; if one was a lay brother, he took the vows of a lay brother, which vows omit and must omit according to the constitutions the clause proper to priests. Government in the order is constitutional and any permission or dispensation must be made in accordance with the constitutions. It would make for confusion compounded for a non-priest to take the vows of a spiritual coadjutor and then be termed everywhere in official records a priest: words would no longer have any meaning. Even in an army titles are not used officially without precise distinction.

The only document, to my knowledge, that has ever been adduced to attempt to disprove the fact that all spiritual coadjutors in the entire history of the Jesuit Order have had to be priests, is a modern copy of an obituary notice of a certain Jacques Largillier, the original of which was written by Father Mermet, S.J., in 1714. The author of the notice gave assurance that he had heard from a Father Gravier that the Jesuit General had received Largillier into the order. In accordance with a long tradition in the Church, permission for worthy individuals to pronounce vows privately was granted repeatedly; I have before me some twenty such authorizations contained in a batch of letters sent to the Province of Mexico in the space of a few years. Such individuals never became Jesuits, nor were they ever recorded as such in any official documents. Upon their death, a superior might ask the members of his province to offer suffrages for them in view of their devoted service or benefactions, but this did not make them members of the order. The vows they regularly pronounced were first vows, not final vows, as are the vows of a spiritual coadjutor.

But let us take a look at the two copies of the document in question.[28] According to one copy, Largillier in his last earthly moments

[27] Cf. above, note 17.

[28] Both copies are cited as being in the collection of the Wisconsin State Historical Society.

"spoke about the good Lord (parla du Bon Dieu) . . . he had pronounced the vows of our coadjutor brothers (vœux de nn. ff. coadjuteurs) . . . it would seem that the usual suffrages of the Society can be offered for him . . . we shall do so here (nous le ferons icy) . . . Reverend Father Provincial has decided (réglé) that all the priests are to say one mass and the non-priests five decades of the rosary (chapelet) for the repose of his soul." Had Largillier been a Jesuit, no such decision would have had to be made by the provincial, since all members are accorded such suffrages. The above normal account when copied by one who knew little or no French resulted in such impossible phrases as "il parla du Mon Dieu," "il avoit fait les vaux (non-existent) de N.N. S.S. Coadjuteurs," "Il nous paroist qu'on peurroit lui accorder . . . les suffrages Ordinaires de la Compagnie; nous le serons icy." The evident mistake in "serons," viz., an "s" for an "f" is the key to the mistake in "S.S. Coadjuteurs" instead of "ff. Coadjuteurs," where again an "s" is written for an "f." And yet the evidence of the correct copy is rejected and the impossible French of the second is invoked as conclusive evidence that a "brother" who was never in the order took the vows of a spiritual coadjutor who must be a priest. It is very simple to say in French that one takes the vows of a spiritual coadjutor; the phrase was and is "les vœux de nos coadjuteurs spirituels." I do not think that "S.S." in the phrase can seriously be considered as an abbreviation for "Servantes," as has been proposed; the reason is not only that no such category of vows exists in the order, but mainly because French grammar would demand "servantes coadjutrices," inasmuch as "servantes" are maid or woman servants.

I have examined all the catalogs *(breves* and *triennales)* of the Province of France, in which the record of the Canadian Mission is contained, and not once is there listed a Jacques Largillier under any category whatever. If he took any vows of the order, they were private, and hence they were not recorded and his name was not entered in any official document. When he died the question arose what suffrages, if any, could be offered for him.

To consider, as has been done, the case of Father René Roüault de Gamache, to spell his name as he does in the signed formula of his vows,[29] on a par with that of Largillier is not in accordance with the official records. This exceptionally talented and noble priest

[29] *Gal. 14,* f. 24-25.

pronounced the vows of a professed at the end of his spiritual and intellectual formation, not through any dispensation of the Jesuit General to pass over the intervening rank of a coadjutor—since the rank of a coadjutor, both spiritual and temporal, is a final and not an intervening rank—but like the thousands of others throughout the history of the order at the authorization and decision of the general.

A word about studies in the order leading to ordination. Two years of novitiate were required, followed by two or three years of philosophy, then a varying term of teaching of one to five or more years, during which the scholastic frequently pursued studies of his own; thus Marquette studied for and received during this period his degree of master of arts.[30] Minor orders were conferred at very latest during these studies. Theology proper was dogmatic theology, studied for four years. The theologians pursuing such a course were regularly ordained in the third year of theology,[31] even as now Jesuits

[30] *Camp. 11,* f. 208v, under the heading "Gradus in literis," the provincial reported to the general, "Magister artium"; this was in 1665.

[31] In all catalogs of all provinces such is the universal indication. Thus, to take one example out of tens of thousands, on the same folio with Father Marquette (*Camp. 11,* f. 278) under the heading, "In Provincia Romana," is a certain "P. Jacobus Richeome Theologus 3$^{i}$ an[ni]." One needs but to turn to the two series of catalogs (*breves* and *triennales*) of the Province of Rome to see that he like his fellow third-year theologians had been ordained during the third year of theology (*Rom. 82,* f. 23, and *Rom. 62,* f. 13). The title P[ater] was added to his name when word reached the provincial that he had been ordained. Being a priest and a student of theology was never considered incompatible, any more than it is today. On the folio of Father Marquette's ordination, the place and date are written clearly after a bracketed group or after the name of each one, except P. Desiderius Chabut, either because the compiler forgot to do so, or because Father Chabut was ordained in the same place and on the same day as the priest who immediately precedes him on the list. In that case, the compiler either forgot to bracket the two names together, as was done in similar instances, or thought that the reader would mentally bracket the two together; the provincial in sending this report to the general did not notice any inconsistency on this folio. At any rate, that Father Chabut was a priest, and in consequence that *Pater* is always the title of a priest, is amply attested through more than the thirty years of Chabut's priestly record. Thus the same catalog and the same folio (but on the verso) that records Father Marquette's departure for Canada lists three priests as "Missi in Americam Australem," Father Chabut among them. The autograph copy of his final vows shows that he pronounced those of a spiritual coadjutor on August 15, 1670, "In Insula Guadalupa" (*Gal. 28,* f. 33).

are regularly ordained after three years of such studies and pursue the fourth year as ordained priests. Not a few scholastics renounced, to use the constantly recurring term of the time, theology—and their chance for solemn profession—to study only moral theology or as it was also called cases of conscience.[32]

The partially extant correspondence concerning the typical case of Philippe Pierson will illustrate the procedure followed in obtaining permission from the father general to study moral theology in preparation for the priesthood. There is no trace of any other permission of any one else being requested, granted, or deemed necessary in order to be ordained. Thus on August 15, 1668, Philippe Pierson, a scholastic teaching in Quebec, wrote to the general begging to be allowed to remain in the Canadian Mission and not have to return to Europe to study theology. He realizes that there is one possible obstacle that may prevent his doing so, viz., that he has not yet begun to apply himself to theology. He hopes that he can remain on the ground that not all in the mission need apply themselves to dogmatic theology. He begs to be allowed to study cases of conscience while continuing to teach, and then immediately afterward devote himself to ministry among the natives, whose language he has been studying.[33] That this request had to do with studies

[32] Thus in Canada in 1672 with Father Marquette, we find that one other priest had only one year of "theologia moralis" and that two are credited with no theology; in both the 1669 triennial catalog and that of 1672, Marquette is credited with "aliquot menses theologiae moralis" (*Franc. 14*, f. 172, 285), which is in accord with what he wrote to the general before his ordination (Fondo Gesuitico, *Indipetae*, Busta 26, n. 126). After theology, priests usually spent some ten months, including a thirty-day retreat in ascetical training, known as tertianship. Countless instances can be gleaned from the records where such training, under pressure of important ministry, was reduced to the thirty-day retreat. Lay brothers, inasmuch as they did not make tertianship, did not make the thirty-day retreat which formed part of the fuller training. Silence during such a retreat was observed and all communication with outsiders avoided as far as possible. It would have been most unseemly of Father Marquette to sign an official record at the Sault Ste. Marie pageant on June 14, 1671, less than three weeks before pronouncing his final vows. To do so would have been out of keeping with the retirement and recollection demanded by such a retreat.

[33] *Gal. 110 I*, f. 40-41v. Part of the letter reads, "Quare [Paternitatem Vestram] etiam atque etiam rogo, ut ubi litterarum studia docuero quamdiu Superioribus visum fuerit, ad Conscientiae casus animum adijcere (*sic*) mihi liceat, quibus instructus, possim operam statim navare Barbaris, quorum linguae

leading to the priesthood is evident from the letter of the superior of the mission, Father Le Mercier, who wrote the general from Quebec shortly afterward, October 9, 1668, that if it please His Paternity, Pierson will be ordained after about two years of the study of cases of conscience.[34]

It would seem that in the light of the abundant and unanimous testimony of official records, the priesthood of Father Jacques Marquette cannot reasonably be called into question, for, if it is, neither documents nor words would any longer have any meaning. The only legitimate way to prove that Marquette was not a priest is to give evidence that either the ordaining bishop lacked the intention to confer this sacred order or Marquette to receive it.

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*Rome*

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ex Superioris licentia jam studeo. . . ." The Roman secretary noted in his memorandum for the general, "Philip[pus] Pierson . . . impeditus e[st] theologia cui n[on]d[um] studuit, sed libenter ei renunciabit cum istic n[on] sit valde nec[essar]ia; petit ut r[e]maneat ad salvandas tot a[n]i[m]as. . . ."

[34] *Gal. 110 I*, f. 48-49v. ". . . iudicauimus . . . Magistrum vero Pierson, altiorum disciplinarum prorsus incapacem, applicandum Theologiae morali ac linguae Huronicae addiscendae, post duos circiter annos, si ita placuerit Paternitati v[est]rae, sacerdotio initiandum, quo possit Patribus nostris, qui messi colligendae pares esse non possunt, in Missionibus adiumento esse, quod certe pro eo quo flagrat gloriae Dei atque animarum zelo, optime praestiturum arbitramur." Pierson studied cases of conscience, was ordained, pronounced his final vows as a spiritual coadjutor on February 2, 1676, in Marquette's Ottawa mission of St. Ignatius. His desire to work as a priest among the Indians, but to be spared the long course of studies demanded by dogmatic theology, parallels Marquette's attitude, and no more proves his refusal to go on with studies leading to the priesthood than did the course that Father Marquette followed. Early in the history of the Jesuit Order in the Americas (March 31, 1576), the general sent the provincials a set of norms for the requisites of those to be ordained: (1) canonical age; (2) five years in the order; (3) the supernatural virtues expected of a religious and priest; (4) the natural virtues demanded of the same; (5) theology or practical knowledge of cases of conscience to be able to hear confessions (the Spanish text reads: "Cuanto a los estudios, ha de aver oydo Theología, o tenido exercicio de casos de conscienca, de manera que pueda confessar"); (6) the provincial will discuss with his consultors those to be ordained. There is a copy of this instruction in *Mex. 1*, f. 10v; that it did not remain a dead letter is evident from the fact that in 1666, the year of Marquette's ordination, there were in the Province of Mexico twenty-six priests who had studied no other theology but cases of conscience (*Mex. 5*, f. 110-126).

# BONIFACE WIMMER, PIONEER OF THE AMERICAN BENEDICTINES

By

Colman J. Barry*

The history of one abbey does not have major importance in terms of the thousands of monastic families that have followed the rule of religious life established by St. Benedict. Nor is 100 years of community observance particularly striking in over fourteen centuries of Benedictine tradition. The first centennial of St. John's Abbey does have significance, however, if the proportions and contribution of this new world house are considered. Its development is an evidence of the Benedictine revival of modern times. The story of St. John's is also a manifestation of the vitality of the Catholic Church on the frontier and in general American society during the period of its growth and maturity.

St. John's Abbey stands as an integral and living part of a distant and definite past. Its roots extend far beyond the Mississippi River Valley, the State of Minnesota, or the national boundaries of the United States. The Collegeville community has truly identified itself with the locality in which it was established, as older Benedictine monasteries have consistently done. At the same time it has been the means of transplanting one of the main currents of European civilization to the West. August Krey noted this phenomenon when he said:

To the historian of early European history it is peculiarly interesting to watch the growth on Minnesota soil of an institution whose work he has so often followed in those earlier years of European civilization. It is amazing to find repeated here so much of what occurred around Monte Cassino, or at the monastery of the Venerable Bede in Anglo-Saxon England, or at Fulda in western Germany, or at Metten in eastern Bavaria. Only the names and dates are different. The successful

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* Father Barry, O.S.B., is assistant professor of history in St. John's University, Collegeville, Minnesota. The American Cassinese Congregation of Benedictines is this year observing the centennial of its creation by Pope Pius IX on August 24, 1855. The present article is the first chapter of a centennial history of St. John's Abbey, Collegeville, Minnesota, which is in preparation for 1956.

qualities of those earlier monasteries, particularly in England and Germany, where the work was of a pioneer character, reappear in the Minnesota community. Like them, the Minnesota monastery was peculiarly fitted to cope with pioneer problems.[1]

The life of Benedict of Nursia, the nature of the rule for monks which he wrote, and the long history of his followers during 1,400 years is well known. "Like a star in the darkness of the night," Pope Pius XII declared, "Benedict of Nursia brilliantly shines, a glory not only to Italy but of the whole Church." In his encyclical letter on the occasion of the fourteenth centenary of the death of St. Benedict, the Holy Father sketched the evolution of the Benedictine institute and he said:

> All who are not blinded by prejudice but examine events in the light of history and judge fairly, must recognize what a beneficial influence the power and strength of the Benedictine Order had in that early period, and how many great benefits it conferred on succeeding generations. . . . The sons of Benedict were almost alone in that dark age of profound ignorance and turmoil, in preserving the codices of literature and learning, in translating them most faithfully and commenting on them, they were almost among the pioneers in practising and promoting the arts, science and teaching. . . . The Benedictine Institute and its flourishing monasteries were raised up not without divine guidance and assistance, in order that, while the Roman Empire was tottering, and barbarous tribes goaded by warlike fury were attacking on all sides, Christian civilization might make good its losses.[2]

It was the establishment of his monastery at Monte Cassino in 529, as well as the beginning there of life according to his *Rule*, which inaugurated the broad influence of St. Benedict upon European events of which Pius XII spoke. Benedictine literature concerning that European monastic life is voluminous and thorough.[3] From Monte Cassino a chain of religious families, for both men and women, spread across the world to form the oldest religious body in the western Church. The link which connects St. John's with Monte

[1] August C. Krey, *Monte Cassino, Metten and Minnesota* (St. Paul, 1927), pp. 11-12.

[2] *Fulgens radiator* (Lisle, Illinois, 1947), pp. 11-12.

[3] Two of the more basic studies of Benedictine monastic history are Philibert Schmitz, O.S.B., *Histoire de l'ordre de Saint-Benoît*, 6 vols. (Maredsous, 1949); Stephan Hilpisch, O.S.B., *Das Benediktinertum im Wandel der Zeiten* (St. Ottilien, 1950).

Cassino, and brings 529 in touch with 1856, is the ancient Abbey of Metten on the Danube River in lower Bavaria.

Metten was established in 792 during the period when Charlemagne was sponsoring Benedictine houses throughout the territories under his jurisdiction. This abbey was never one of the larger or more renowned Benedictine centers, but it carried on the same type of missionary, educational, and cultural activity as the monasteries of St. Boniface. Located on the border of Bohemia, Metten throughout the years suffered from invading tribes, in turn converted and Christianized successive peoples from the East, and from the tenth century on served the region as a typical Bavarian institution. It was at different times known for its properties, its learning, art, illuminated manuscripts, and its influential position in ecclesiastical affairs of Bavaria. It survived the Protestant Revolt but became a victim of the secularization laws which followed in the wake of Napoleon's conquests.

Since Bavaria had led the way in assisting Napoleon, Maximillian I of that kingdom was rewarded handsomely and made king. Through the efforts of his Francofile chief minister, Count Maximilian Montgelas, all spiritual principalities and ecclesiastical possessions were confiscated in the Bavarian secularization decrees of 1802 and 1803. Metten was suppressed, its possessions secularized, and its twenty-three monks scattered by virtue of the thirty-fifth article of the *Reichsdeputationshauptschluss* of March 24, 1803.[4] For the Abbey of Metten it was the end of almost a thousand years' existence. For practically all other Benedictine houses throughout Europe the Napoleonic depredations held a similar fate. By 1814 scarcely thirty Benedictine monasteries remained as a disorganized and, for the most part, tottering remnant of the armies of monks which had once Christianized and civilized Europe.

Liberals and advanced prophets of scientific progress had relegated monasticism to mediaeval times as atavistic and out of harmony with the ideals of the nineteenth century. Yet within a generation the Benedictine institute launched one of its most striking revivals. It was at Metten that the first indications of this revival took shape, and it was through the noble efforts of one of the new sons of

[4] C. P. Higby, *The Religious Policy of the Bavarian Government During the Napoleonic Period* (New York, 1918); H. Brueck, *Geschichte der Katholischen Kirche in Deutschland im Neunzenten Jahrhundert*, 2 vols. (Mainz, 1889).

Metten that organized Benedictine life was brought to American shores.

Upon the death of Maximillian in 1825 his son the crown prince succeeded to the throne of Bavaria as Ludwig I. He was then in his fortieth year, highly cultured, and determined to reverse the shortsighted policies which he had witnessed during the previous reign. Ludwig dreamed of creating a union of political liberalism and traditional Catholicism. He supported the reforming work of Josef Michael Sailer, Bishop of Ratisbon, and the struggle for the Church's freedom undertaken by the Ultramontane Party under the leadership of Graf Karl August von Reisach, Archbishop of Munich and later cardinal. The new King Ludwig I strove to attract Catholic scholars to the University of Munich, rejoiced in the scholarship and action of Josef von Goerres' "Round Table" in that city, and lent his support to movements which would restore Bavaria to what he considered its pure Christian and German traditions.

The restoration of Benedictine life in Bavaria was at the heart of Ludwig's plans. He had a deep personal attachment to the sons of St. Benedict for religious, educational, and cultural reasons, and he set about immediately to purchase back Metten's properties as the first step in the restoration of the Bavarian Congregation. Within five years all was in readiness. The two remaining monks of Metten, who had been serving in parishes since the secularization, gratefully returned to their cloister. These two aged priests, Ildephons Nebauer and Roman Raith, began their humble conventual life in 1830, and two years later a class of five novices came to Metten. Among them were Gregor Scherr, to become the community's new abbot in 1840 and afterward Archbishop of Munich, and Boniface Wimmer, the future patriarch of Benedictinism in North America.[5]

At this time Sebastian Wimmer was twenty-three years of age, and a priest of the Diocese of Ratisbon who had served one year as curate of the shrine of the Blessed Virgin at Altoetting before deciding to apply for admission to the priory of Metten. He chose the name of Boniface and here gave the first indication of the dominant passion of his life, to spread the kingdom of God through missionary labors as had the patron of Germany. His earlier studies under Ignatz Doellinger at the University of Munich, at a time when Doellinger

[5] Wilhelm Fink, O.S.B., *Entwicklungsgeschichte der Benediktinerabtei Metten* (Munich, 1926-28), passim; *Alt und Jung Metten*, IV (1926), 3-64.

was still an ardent Catholic, had filled him with love and veneration for the Benedictine monks who had converted the fatherland. From the very beginning of his monastic life Father Boniface wanted to be a Benedictine missionary, but for ten impatient years he was obliged to assist in the work of restoration. He suggested to his abbot that Metten expand, that a mission house be established in Munich, and he even acquired the former monastery of Mallersdorf which he desired to make into a missionary school. But King Ludwig was making demands upon the small community for new monasteries, educational ventures, and parish activity. Father Boniface was accordingly sent by Abbot Gregor to the newly restored monastery of St. Stephen in Augsburg, next assigned as pastor of Stephansposching, then as procurator of the Abbey of Scheyern, and finally as professor of Latin and Greek in the Ludwigs-Gymnasium, a state college in Munich. Simultaneously he served as prefect in the Hollandeum, a boarding school under royal patronage connected with that college.[6]

[6] Printed sources on Wimmer include Oswald Moosmueller, O.S.B., *Erzabt Bonifaz Wimmer, O.S.B.* (New York, 1891), and *St. Vincenz in Pennsylvanien* (New York, 1873); Sebastian J. Wimmer, "Biographical Sketch of Rt. Rev. Arch-Abbot Wimmer, O.S.B., D.D., Patriarch of the American Cassinese Benedictines," *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia,* III (1891), 174-193; Bernhard Lester, "Erzabt Bonifaz Wimmer, Das Bild eines deutschen Mannes in Amerika," *Frankfurter zeitgemaesse Broschueren,* XII (1891), 397-424; Willibald Mathaeser, O.S.B., "Koenig Ludwig I von Bayern und die Gruendung der ersten bayerischen Benediktinerabtei in Nord-amerika," *Studien und Mitteilungen,* XLIII (1925), 123-182, and *Bonifaz Wimmer, O.S.B., Und Koenig Ludwig I. von Bayern* (Munich, 1937).

The Reverend Felix Fellner, O.S.B., of St. Vincent Archabbey has devoted a lifetime to the study of the career of Wimmer. He has an authoritative biography of Archabbot Boniface in manuscript and has published a number of separate studies, including: "Archabbot Boniface Wimmer, O.S.B.," *Dictionary of American Biography,* XX, 370-371; "Archabbot Boniface Wimmer As an Educator," *National Benedictine Educational Bulletin,* XXV (December, 1942), 85-114; "Archabbot Boniface Wimmer and Historical Sources," *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia,* XXXVII (December, 1926), 299-304; and *Die St. Vincenz Gemeinde und Erzabtei* (St. Vincent, 1905).

Cf. also Baltimore *Katholische Volkszeitung,* December 17, 1887, and January 7, 1888; Gerald Bridge, O.S.B., *Illustrated History of St. Vincent's Archabbey* (St. Vincent, 1892); "Sportsman's Hall and St. Vincent Abbey," *St. Vincent's Journal,* February 15, 1893 - May 15, 1894; Louis Haas, O.S.B., *St. Vincent Parish and Archabbey* (St. Vincent, 1905).

It was while Father Boniface was stationed at the Hollandeum in Munich that his ardent expectations began to take shape. The Reverend Edward Hipelius, O.S.B., a future secretary of the St. Vincent chapter, recorded the anxiety of the young Bavarian monk at that time. He said:

> He was moved partly by a strong desire to propagate the Christian religion and partly by reading the annual reports of Mission Societies. He was roused to enthusiastic ambition especially when he saw that Benedictine monks, while members of other religious institutes were zealously laboring for the propagation of the faith, were doing almost nothing in this regard and were, so to speak, looking on with folded hands. Thus he began to encourage and persuade the monks of Metten to enlist in this glorious enterprise, and devote themselves to the work of preserving and spreading the Christian religion in the United States, especially among the Germans. For a number of years he discussed the matter frequently and seriously, and as happens in the case of great and arduous undertakings encountered considerable opposition. While some approved, others ridiculed and criticized. Not even his superiors were at first inclined to give his proposals serious attention.[7]

Abbot Gregor called Father Boniface his "plan maker," and with reason. In 1838 the Bavarians had established their own independent mission society, called the Ludwig Missionsverein, separate from the older French Society for the Propagation of the Faith. There was much discussion in Catholic journals and papers how missionaries for the needs of German immigrants could be adequately provided, and Wimmer entered the debates with zest. Ludwig I and the Ludwig Missionsverein had authorized the establishment at Altoetting of a seminary, which never developed, for the training of German missionaries to the United States. It was proposed that the Redemptorists conduct the seminary, and no one, except Father Boniface, thought of the Benedictines. He entered an anonymous article in the columns of the Augsburg *Postzeitung* on November 8, 1845,[8] which the Reverend Felix Fellner, O.S.B., biographer of Wimmer, has called the charter of the American Benedictines.[9]

[7] *Album Benedictinum* (St. Vincent, 1889), p. 53.

[8] A translation of this article first appeared in *St. Vincent's Journal*, II (February 15, 1893), 171-174; II (March 15, 1893), 202-208.

[9] "Archabbot Boniface Wimmer as an Educator," *National Benedictine Educational Association Bulletin*, XXV (December, 1942), 89.

This debate, which waxed strong both among the Germanic peoples in Europe and in the Church of the United States, was another manifestation of the growing nationalistic tensions of the time. German Catholic immigrants were protesting that they were not being properly cared for by American bishops, that monies sent from Europe for their missionaries and churches were being channelled into non-German projects, and that they were not adequately represented in the hierarchy of the United States. The Reverend Friedrich von Held, C.SS.R., provincial of the Redemptorists' Belgian province, to which their American missions were subject, journeyed to the United States to examine conditions at firsthand, as did Canon Josef Salzbacher of Vienna. The latter was the representative of the Leopoldinen Stiftung, the Austrian mission society which had been established in 1829. Both priests were in Munich about this time, both wrote letters and reports of their impressions, and it was in answer to Salzbacher's conclusions that Wimmer wrote his celebrated letter.[10] Wimmer felt that the best way German immigrants in the United States could be aided was to establish a Benedictine monastery there, rather than anywhere in Europe. There, united with the monastery, a permanent and indigenous Benedictine school could be established. Only in this way could success and permanency be assured. The immediate need of immigrant care could be met, and gradually, as the Germans became adapted to their new homeland, the sons of the immigrants would continue the same work for religion and society.

It was a farsighted vision and it took courage to urge it. Years later, when Wimmer had more than realized these first designs, he was acclaimed as one of the greatest of nineteenth-century missionaries. But he would scarcely have achieved recognition or permission to undertake his project if several influential persons had not backed him. Ludwig I, after discovering who the author of the article in the Augsburg *Postzeitung* was, supported the plan; the Apostolic Nuncio to Bavaria, Archbishop Carlo Morichini, gradually confirmed the proposal, and Josef Goerres encouraged him. Then the central

[10] Cf. Severus Brandus, *Die katholisch-irisch-bischoefliche Administration in Nordamerika* (Philadelphia, 1840), for an exaggerated but typical German attack in the United States; and Joseph Salzbacher, *Meine Reise nach Nordamerika im Jahre 1842* (Vienna, 1845), for a European opinion of religious conditions on the American scene.

committee of the Ludwig Missionsverein, through the instrumentality of its director, the court chaplain, Ferdinand Josef Mueller, who was Wimmer's perennial defender, approved the idea as the most practical one, and gave 6,000 florins ($3,000) to implement the proposal. The scales had been tipped, and before long an exultant Wimmer was on his way to the New World.

Few volunteers could be found, for the expedition was considered to be a risky undertaking and not sufficiently matured. But this did not deter Father Boniface. The Reverend Peter Henry Lemcke, missionary from Carrolltown, Pennsylvania, was in Munich in 1845 trying to arouse interest in the American missions. He met Wimmer and offered him land at Carrolltown, which was in the recently erected See of Pittsburgh. With this incentive, Wimmer wrote to Michael O'Connor, first Bishop of Pittsburgh, for permission to establish a monastery in his diocese. O'Connor willingly gave his consent, but the letter did not reach Wimmer. Meanwhile, the Bishop of Chicago, William Quarter, had heard of the project, wrote to Wimmer inviting him to his diocese, but this letter also miscarried. Wimmer, without ecclesiastical invitation in hand, nevertheless bought the Carrolltown farm which Lemcke had proffered. Four students and fourteen young laborers had volunteered to accompany him, and this was the party which gathered around Bishop Karl von Reisach in St. Michael's Church, Munich, at five o'clock on the morning of July 25, 1846, to assist at Mass before departing across the seas. Not one of Wimmer's volunteer party was a Benedictine, nor had any received previous monastic training.

Two months later the strange little group arrived in New York. Father Boniface sought the advice of several German priests in the New York area: Vicar General John Stephan Raffeiner of St. Nicholas Parish, Williamsburg; the Redemptorist, Gabriel Rumpler, on Third Street; and the lone Benedictine missionary in Newark, Nicholaus Balleis from Salzburg. They were anything but encouraging and looked upon the project as a most precarious one, making clear to Wimmer how every other attempt to establish such an institution had failed during the previous years. The unsuccessful efforts of the Trappists during the time of Bishop John Carroll, of the Redemptorists' seminary in Baltimore, of the scholasticate of the Jesuit Fathers Anthony Kohlman and Benedict Fenwick in New York, of Bishop John Dubois' seminary project in New York,

of Bishop Benedict Joseph Flaget's institute for brothers in Kentucky —all were detailed.

Yet Wimmer was not to be turned back. Two of the prospective brothers became ill, but the rest of the party moved on to Carrolltown. In a short time Wimmer realized that the location was not favorable for a monastery and school and that the land there was poor. Then Bishop O'Connor took him to Mount Saint Vincent in Westmoreland County, forty miles east of Pittsburgh, and only a half mile off the Cumberland Turnpike. He offered him the parish located on the site of Sportsman's Hall, the pioneer parish of western Pennsylvania. Wimmer was to take charge of the parish temporarily and to divide its revenues with the Reverend Michael Gallagher who was then stationed there. The congregation was composed of Irish and German Catholics, and Father Gallagher was to stay on until the Bavarian party could acquire some English. The bishop also promised to give him 315 acres of land attached to the parish for his proposed monastery. This land had been purchased by the Franciscan, Theodore Brouwers, on April 16, 1790, and he had willed the property to the pastor of St. Vincent. Both Bishops Carroll and O'Connor had experienced difficulties with some of the priests who claimed the land, and with trustees of the parish who asserted the right of appointing pastors. O'Connor was thus anxious to solve his problem by giving the place to the Benedictines. Wimmer also felt the opportunity was not to be neglected, and so he accepted. The following year the Bishop of Pittsburgh granted the parish and property to Wimmer in perpetuity, and Pope Pius IX ratified the land conveyance, while raising the colony to the rank of a monastery.[11]

It was a humble beginning, with poverty on all sides, but it was in the full spirit of St. Benedict. The building included the Church of St. Vincent de Paul, a one-story school house, an old log cabin in which the tenant of the church farm lived, and a dilapidated log hut used as a barn. The parish rectory housed Sisters of Mercy

[11] Oswald Moosmueller, O.S.B., *St. Vincenz in Pennsylvanien* (New York, 1873), pp. 128-30. The papal approval was delayed, however, by the Italian revolution of 1848, and was not received until 1852. Thus during those first years Wimmer had the further trial of being in the anomalous position of acting as "superior" without canonical jurisdiction for himself or for receiving the vows of his monks.

until their new convent of St. Xavier, one mile to the south of St. Vincent, was completed in the spring of 1847. So Father Boniface and his community moved into the small school house, divided it into two rooms: one for dining room, kitchen and space for the prospective brothers; the other for Fathers Gallagher and Boniface and the four students. The revenues from the parish were slight, and had to be divided with Gallagher; the harvest of the first year belonged to the tenant of the farm; cash on hand after the expenses of the voyage was insufficient to buy horses or farm implements, the buildings were in bad condition and, as Wimmer wrote back to Bavaria, "we froze even under the woolen coverings,"[12] on thin straw sack beds in the school house attic.

As soon as he had transferred his party from Carrolltown to St. Vincent's, "Superior" Wimmer proceeded to invest his four young clerics and twelve brother candidates with the Benedictine habit. There were only six habits available, but they were joyfully handed on from one to another on that morning of October 24, 1846, as all prepared to begin life together in the new world according to the *Rule* of St. Benedict. The Benedictines were beginning stable community life rather late in the United States, but there was no one around the altar who did not fervently pray that in God's providence they were here to stay. Wimmer at once introduced the traditional horarium of the Bavarian Benedictines for his new family of students, carpenter, farmer, blacksmith, stone mason, cook, teamster, tanner, miller, locksmith, and baker. The monastic schedule included:

A.M. 3:45, Rising, Matins and Lauds of the Divine Office in the Organ Loft of the Church; Brothers recited the Rosary in the nave of the Church
5:00, Meditation
6:00, Prime, Conventual Mass, Breakfast
7:00, Classes for Clerics; Manual Labor for Brothers
9:00, Terce and Sext of the Divine Office
10:45, Examination of Conscience in Church
11:00, Dinner with Reading During the Meal; Adoration of the Blessed Sacrament; None of the Divine Office; Recreation

[12] Archives of the Ludwig Missionsverein, Wimmer to Mueller, April 13, 1849.

P.M. 1:00, Study for Clerics; Manual Labor for Brothers
3:00, Chanted Vespers of the Divine Office; Study for Clerics
5:00, Explanation of the Holy Rule
6:00, Supper with Reading; Recreation
7:30, Compline of the Divine Office; Rosary
9:30, Bed

The next two years were filled with much hard work and accomplishment at St. Vincent's. When the Sisters of Mercy left for their new convent, the rectory was made into a monastery by the large number of hard-working brothers; crops were planted and harvested; bricks were burnt, wood cut and construction begun on a monastery building; classes were taught to the clerics. None of this would have been possible without a continued flow of money from the Ludwig Missionsverein in Munich. Director Mueller also strove to arouse interest in Wimmer's foundation among Bavarian priests, students, and Benedictines. In 1847 the Reverend Peter Lechner, O.S.B., a doctor in theology, arrived from the Abbey of Scheyern bringing with him sixteen brother candidates; two Benedictine priests, one from Metten and one from Augsburg, also came. Wimmer's old friend, Archbishop von Reisach, president of the Ludwig Missionsverein and now a cardinal, allowed the monastery 2,000 florins ($1,000) annually for twenty years. Most of these funds went toward the purchase of books, vestments, art works, etc. Other donors were the venerable Bishop of Linz, Gregor Ziegler, O.S.B., the abbots of Metten, Abbot Rupert of Scheyern, and King Ludwig I.

With the foundation itself secured, Father Boniface moved to implement other phases of his plan. As priests were ordained he and they began to care for Catholics of the region, the German immigrants primarily, but gradually for Czech, Slovak, Polish, and Irish Catholics as well, scattered throughout the counties of western Pennsylvania. Land was purchased in Pennsylvania at Carrolltown, Indiana, St. Mary's, and Chestnut Ridge, all with the view of possible future monastic establishments. Some of the monks lived at different mission stations, while others travelled many miles throughout the Allegheny Mountains to serve small congregations or colonies.

At St. Vincent's school work was likewise vigorously pursued. Besides the novitiate for the monastery there was a scholasticate for Benedictine candidates studying classics, a clericate for young monks studying philosophy and theology, and a Latin school for boys

studying to be priests for the dioceses as well as for the monastery. The great majority of the students were from Germany or of German descent. In 1852 English-speaking students were accepted as well as young men intent on receiving a liberal arts training. In this way a traditional Benedictine school gradually took shape. Wimmer was able to preserve his primary aim of establishing a monastic center in which a large number of young men would be trained for the American priesthood. At the same time, quite naturally and consistently, the beginnings of a Benedictine academy and liberal arts college evolved.

Wimmer carried on all these enterprises, wrote a vast number of letters to friends and benefactors, travelled to and from Europe, and all the while continued his planning and designing. His motto was "Always go ahead," and his German thoroughness, combined with remarkable apostolic zeal, accomplished surprising results. Court Chaplain Mueller told John Martin Henni, Bishop of Milwaukee, that he was confident of the success of the Benedictines in America. Mueller considered his life's ambition accomplished in the assistance he had given in bringing the religious orders to the United States, such as the Benedictines, Redemptorists and Norbertines. He felt that the complaints he had lodged in Rome, and with the mission societies, against the Irish and French bishops in the United States had been well founded. He wrote:

> Why are there now so many German parishes? Why do bishops now so eagerly ask for Redemptorists; yes, one of them even accused the Redemptorists in Rome, why? Because they do not cost anything and the bishops may not give them anything. Formerly, however, they paid everything and then they did not have any money for them. And yet the German parishes were very well taken care of and supported, so they said. I have always said that only through the Orders would the Germans be taken care of best, and it has been proven, although the Redemptorists also made many mistakes, especially in their building program. . . .
>
> Now as for Father Boniface, his idea can only be welcomed with joy in America. God Himself has thus far, so to speak, guided the undertaking. For who would believe that all the ill advice given by the most experienced and well meaning priests should redound precisely to his success. They were surprised in New York when he came with so many men and called it a foolish prank; but this was precisely to Father Boniface's greatest advantage. Without his men he could never have taken over St. Vincent's, nor begun his work.

In no more than two years he is able to support and educate from fifty to sixty boys and thus prepare a native clergy. Thus finally will be realized what you had in mind. That this is best done through an Order I am sure we are agreed. If the Benedictines in Europe who want to go would be allowed to leave, half of them would emigrate; but their abbots are opposed.[13]

The German question was moving into the area of controversy at this time, as Mueller's letter testified, and Wimmer, unfortunately—and quite unconsciously—became a part of it. As German immigration increased, stronger demands were being made on the American bishops for German parishes, German-speaking priests for those parishes, and more German representation in the hierarchy. When Father Boniface made moves during these years for canonical erection of his foundation as an independent house, Bishop O'Connor of Pittsburgh took exception. He did not favor the idea of an exempt monastery in modern times, and he also felt Wimmer's move was precipitous. There were two further points of difference.

The first concerned the nature of the seminary at St. Vincent. O'Connor desired that Wimmer should have a seminary independent of the monastery of which the bishop himself would be rector. He also wanted no distinction made between German and English-speaking seminarians, with both receiving equal grants-in-aid and scholarship assistance. Wimmer, for his part, insisted that the seminary should be part of the monastic school in which students for the diocesan clergy, especially German boys, would be accepted. It was for this purpose that he had come to the United States, and he would not be deflected from his original plan. He insisted that no distinctions were to be made on the basis of nationality.[14]

The second point of difference was, perhaps, even more acute. Wimmer, following the century-old custom of European religious, had entered into a brewery enterprise about thirty miles from the abbey at Indiana, Pennsylvania. His nephew had emigrated with $800 belonging to Father Boniface, and with the money had purchased a brewery in Indiana and lost the business. It was in order to recover his money that Wimmer bought the property and the

[13] Archives of the Archdiocese of Milwaukee, Mueller to Henni, Munich, March 1, 1847.

[14] Archives of Ludwig Missionsverein, Wimmer to von Reisach, St. Vincent, May 1, 1855.

brewery was then operated by its original owner on Wimmer's account. Temperance advocates, both non-Catholic and Catholic, took strong exception to this practice. Catholic temperance people, whom Wimmer always looked upon as fanatics, felt that the Church was being harmed by this German custom of brewing beer, and that it was a clear indication of lack of understanding of the dominant Puritan mores of the nation. Irish Catholic leaders also felt a keen need for a strong total abstinance program, and Bishop O'Connor was sympathetic with its necessity. There was never a brewery at St. Vincent's during these years, and Wimmer discontinued the Indiana enterprise even before a decision was obtained from Rome.[15]

In December, 1854, Wimmer drew up a long petition to the Holy See requesting independent abbey status for St. Vincent's, and in February of the following year he departed for Rome to push the petition personally. Both he and Bishop O'Connor sought the aid of friends and agents to explain their contrary positions. O'Connor asked the Reverend Bernard Smith, O.S.B., curial official and Roman agent for several members of the American hierarchy, to present his views before the Congregation of Propaganda, the curial agency under which the Church in the United States, as mission territory, was then directed. He was particularly incensed that Wimmer should have sought the offices of King Ludwig I, who was in Rome at the time, and those of his ambassador to the Holy See, Graf von Spaur. Bishop O'Connor informed Smith:

> I hope that instead of a mitre and a crozier he (Wimmer) will get what he wants much more badly, a good lesson on the shameful manner in which he has acted, disregarding all I could say to him. It would be a poor encouragement for us to stand out for defending the liberty of the Church from secular power to find out that we are only exposed by our independence to the interference of foreign secular powers. If seculars are to dabble in our affairs it would be much better for us to have to deal with those we know and whom we could call to an account, than to have German princes dabbling in our affairs. If I were but to apply to our Secretary of State he would be only too glad to be asked

[15] At St. Vincent during these years no beer was brewed until Christmas of 1860. In later years temperance fanatics attacked the Benedictines for this practice and the initials, O.S.B., were even interpreted "Order of Sacred Brewers."

to write a letter to Rome that would rebut this gentleman's interference; but thank God I would scorn to do so no matter how it ends.[16]

On the other hand, Wimmer presented his viewpoint to King Ludwig when he said:

> The ecclesiastical condition of America is still in its infancy; the will of the bishop is the only law. The bishops can expect no support from the state against refractory priests, and much less from the Protestant, or better, atheistic state and the democratic inclinations of its citizens. Accordingly they are naturally mistrustful of every attempt to deprive them more or less of their unrestricted power, or to insure oneself against their arbitrariness.[17]

Wimmer sought the advice and aid of Abbot Angelo Pescetelli, O.S.B., former Abbot of Farfa, and then Abbot of St. Paul's outside the Walls. Pescetelli was also procurator general in Rome for the Cassinese Congregation, and in this capacity he submitted a report on Wimmer's petition to Filippo Cardinal Franzoni, Prefect of Propaganda. O'Connor had recommended as possible candidates for abbot of St. Vincent's the Reverends Benedict Haindl, O.S.B., Demetrius de Morogna, O.S.B., both monks of the monastery, and in last place Wimmer himself. Wimmer suggested as his candidate for abbot de Morogna, who was his prior.[18]

After studying the matter at length the Congregation of Propaganda recommended to the Holy Father that St. Vincent be made an independent abbey. Pope Pius IX consented to this petition on August 24, 1855, and at the same time created the American Cassinese Congregation of Benedictines while affiliating it to the Cassinese Congregation of Italy. The new American congregation

[16] Archives of the Abbey of St. Paul Outside the Walls, O'Connor to Smith, Pittsburgh, August 13, 1857.

[17] Wimmer to Ludwig I, St. Vincent, February 13, 1852, in Willibald Mathaeser, O.S.B., *Bonifaz Wimmer, O.S.B., Und Koenig Ludwig I von Bavern* (Munich, 1937), p. 34.

[18] Oswald Moosmueller, O.S.B., *Erzabt Bonifaz Wimmer, O.S.B.* (New York, 1891), p. 164. Cf. also pp. 149-180 for an interesting contemporary account of the controversy by Moosmueller who was then prior of St. Vincent. O'Connor's position is found in several letters to Abbot Bernard Smith, while Wimmer's is detailed in numerous communications to Abbot Angelo Pescetelli. The Smith and Pescetelli documents are preserved in the archives of the Abbey of St. Paul Outside the Walls, Rome. They have been microfilmed and complete copies of both collections are on file in the archives of St. John's Abbey.

was to be self-governing and was to be permitted to observe the statutes of the Bavarian Congregation. Father Boniface was appointed president of the congregation and named abbot of St. Vincent for a three-year period, although he had requested from the pope that the monks be allowed freely to elect their abbot. Wimmer was disappointed at this latter decision, which was an obvious result of the previous controversy. After his first term expired, the monks were to elect an abbot. In 1858, in accord with the papal brief, the election was held, and Wimmer was elected; in 1862 he was again returned to office, and the Holy See then confirmed the election for an indefinite time. Finally in 1865 Wimmer was named abbot for life by Pius IX. Abbot Wimmer never received the abbatial benediction. The Holy Father, according to one report, gave Father Boniface his personal blessing before he left Rome, saying, "Now you are abbot; you need no further blessing."

In regard to the two points at issue between the new abbot and O'Connor, who by this time had resigned his see and joined the Society of Jesus, the Holy See decided in favor of Wimmer and his supporters. The seminary was to continue as before, an integral part of the monastic establishment, with the students of the Bishop of Pittsburgh being admitted at their or his expense. The bishop had the traditional right to watch over the education and morals of these students. As for beer, in 1852 it was granted that it could be distilled and sold wholesale in barrels, but not retail. Wimmer later explained in his shaky English to Mathias Loras, Bishop of Dubuque, what had transpired:

> It may seem a laughable affair to bring such a question before the Apostolic See; but for us it was truly important. We are now ten years in this country; all of us have been used to drinking beer; here we have it not; it is too high in price to buy it for so many (we were at that time 100 men; now we are 150, not accounted 100 scholars); but it is cheap, if we would distill it ourselves; however, if we dare not sell any, we can not afford either to brew it for our own use, it being yet too costly; and always being obliged to drink fresh water and nothing else, is a thing which no religious orders, even not the Trappists, Carthusians and Paulans are obliged to do. Therefore all religious orders, except Capuchians and Franciscans, were allowed everywhere to sell the *wine* of their own vineyards, or the beer of their own distilleries, in order to have from profit of the sale their own drink gratis, and not only in barrels, but (of course not in the monasteries and by their own friars) even in retail in taverns kept for that purpose. . . .

When I was in Rome last summer, even the Holy Father plagued me a little in an audience I had with him, about that beer-affair. I replied: "Holy Father, you have good saying about your Benedictines brewing and selling beer; but you forget that we don't drink any these nine years, and that we have no brewery." "Germans and not drinking beer," he replied, "that is much." "Yes indeed," I said, "until now we could do so, being young; but when we grow older, we will probably be in necessity to make beer." "Of course," he said, "S. Paul also wrote to S. Timothy he should take a little wine for his weak stomach, and so you must have something"—and he laughed heartily.

This is the fact Right Rev. Bishop, of which six years ago many a joke was made by Temperance-men, who indeed brew no beer, but drink strong ales, spirits and wines, and preach temperance to the hard working classes.

I may have been imprudent in getting my hands into that business, but I could hardly help it, and from the notions I have of that business I could positively not forsee any difficulty or scandal, except from the temperance men; and with regard to these men, I only say, I divide them into two classes—in fools and in hypocrites; and I could easily defend this thesis. The Apostolic See has at different times and repeatedly declared against this temperance system, which is of no Catholic character.[19]

After his visit to Rome was completed in 1855, Abbot Wimmer moved up through Switzerland and Germany toward Munich, all the while pouring out his gratitude and joy to Prior Demetrius de Marogna and the community back at St. Vincent's over the decision of the pope and the cardinals. He was acclaimed wherever he went as the first American Benedictine abbot, but he warned his religious family back home not to rejoice in the decision as if it were a triumph. He repeated anew that no bishop would ever have to fear them because of their new independence, an independence which the Holy See had been granting monastic establishments for centuries. Characteristically he ordered his monks to make him a simple wooden crozier because, as he reminded them, Pope Alexander VII had decreed that the pontificals of an abbot should be simpler than those of a bishop. His directives were salutary for good discipline, fraternal peace and happiness, love of worship and work.

[19] Archives of the Archdiocese of Dubuque, Wimmer to Loras, St. Vincent, February 8, 1856.

The new abbot then turned at once to their obligations to spread the faith. Before he had even returned home he was already writing to Prior Demetrius:

> We are now well enough established at St. Vincent's, also at St. Mary's and Carrolltown. Now we go West, and when it is possible, I will give you the opportunity, as you desire, to undertake something there. H. Roehrl, who is here, thinks he has a very good place in Wisconsin for us. It could be, now that we are exempt, that no Bishop will want to receive us.[20]

On the contrary, several bishops were most anxious to have him make a monastic foundation in their dioceses. Bishop Henni of Milwaukee had invited him to Wisconsin in 1846, the very first year that Wimmer was in this country, and Henni never ceased hoping that he would be able to come. He kept telling Wimmer, as well as the Swiss Benedictines at Einsiedeln, that the Benedictines would be able to accomplish their utmost only if they established themselves in the West, "the real home of German life and German missions." Wisconsin offered the best opportunity, he claimed, because of its climate, rural beauty, and the wide field of endeavor among the numerous immigrants in the interior and northern sections of the state. Henni's cherished ideal was to establish a seminary for the training of priests for German immigrants, a plan which he realized when he established his famed St. Francis Seminary at Milwaukee in 1856. But at first he had wanted the Benedictines to found such an institution. He told them he could buy land for them in Milwaukee or on one of the four beautiful lakes of Madison, the capital of the state, and that he was on the point of asking the Jesuits to come for that purpose if the Benedictines should refuse. But Wimmer's foundations and commitments in Pennsylvania kept him in the East for ten years, and when the Swiss monks did arrive in 1854, they settled rather in southern Indiana and began there the development of the future St. Meinrad's Archabbey.[21]

[20] Archives of the Abbey of St. John's, Wimmer to de Marogna, Munich, September 5, 1855. Cf. also January 28, April 9, July 29, August 22 and October 1, 1855. Hereafter all letters and documents quoted from the archives of St. John's will be listed without archival identification.

[21] Archives of the Archdiocese of Milwaukee, Henni to Gall Morel, O.S.B., Milwaukee, April 28, 1847, copy. As late as 1875 Henni was still trying to persuade Abbot Martin Marty, O.S.B., of St. Meinrad's Abbey, to establish a Benedictine house as soon as possible in the Archdiocese of Milwaukee. Marty

At this same time Bishop Joseph Cretin of St. Paul appealed to the Ludwig Missionsverein for German priests to care for the growing number of German Catholics who were immigrating to Minnesota Territory. The Bavarian mission society, in turn, suggested that he inquire at St. Vincent in Pennsylvania and he sent a plea there for assistance. After Wimmer returned to the United States, therefore, the Wisconsin project was no longer mentioned, and the idea of a Minnesota mission gradually gained the ascendancy in his plans.

Those plans had never changed from the days of the Bavarian beginnings: the Benedictine Order was to spread in the United States while dedicating itself to the salvation of souls and the education of youth. Wimmer held that tradition in the order, as well as the *Rule* of St. Benedict, should exert an influence on the choice of location for a monastic institution. The spread of the order was a natural development of the living principles active within the order itself. This was evident in all religious communities in the Church. Each one, he maintained, grew, prospered, and spread to the degree that, according to its nature, it felt responsible for and responded to existing religious and social conditions. A religious order could not stand still or limit itself in time, place, or numbers. No foundation can stand alone. "We must seize the opportunity and spread," he said, "even before we have had time to become thoroughly rooted in one place."[22] He explained to King Ludwig I why this was especially true in the United States. Here the people were "go-getters," not afraid to risk, to attempt new things, to depend on credit, and Wimmer felt that spirit should permeate Catholic life. It must spur the Benedictines on, as he wrote:

Among such people, your Royal Majesty, and in such a country, one must act differently from the way he would act in good, loyal Bavaria. Whoever has intelligence must use it. There is no standing still; one

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asked the Benedictines of St. Boniface Abbey in Munich to assist him since a college was to be started at once. But this project did not materialize either (Marty to Henni, Covington, November 8, 1875). The Benedictines did not come to Wisconsin until 1946 when Abbot Richard Felix, O.S.B., began the establishment of Benet Lake Monastery in the Archdiocese of Milwaukee, 100 years after Henni's original request.

[22] Felix Fellner, O.S.B., "Boniface Wimmer," *Dictionary of American Biography*, XX, 370. Cf. also Boniface Wimmer, O.S.B., "Beiträge zur Geschichte des Benedictiner-Ordens in den Vereinigten Staaten von Nord-Amerika," *SM*, VII (1886), 459.

must keep on going, must risk, must hazard something, but in such a way that if it proves a failure, not everything will be lost, and no one else will suffer injustice. In the province of religion there is the same active life as among the people in America. Everywhere cathedrals, seminaries, hospitals, and orphanages, convents, educational institutions, churches and schools are being erected. And, truly, we Catholics yield to none of the other parties. In fact, we surpass them if our more limited means are taken into consideration. Everything depends upon this one question, namely, to whom will the young generation belong. . . .[23]

It was precisely this "go-getting" spirit of Wimmer's which startled many of his European confrères, friends, and supporters, not to mention those who had never agreed with his efforts. He was often called a "visionary" or an "ecclesiastical adventurer" who was too progressive, too reckless in accumulating debts from land speculation, and too much influenced by the materialism of the United States, all of which was retarding the spiritual development of his subjects by such excessive activity. Wimmer's friend Mueller warned him repeatedly to go more slowly; the Archbishop of Munich was displeased; Father Lemcke, now a Benedictine, opposed him in the Augsburg *Postzeitung;* he was several times reported to Rome, even by some of his own monks, but each time he was exonerated. These very same charges would be repeated years later in Minnesota when his spirit was infused there by the second abbot of St. John's. In all this, however, Wimmer was not slow to defend himself, for, as he told Mueller:

. . . These newly founded missions will not become abbeys like Metten, Scheyern or other Benedictine houses in Europe which have more well defined activities. Here every abbey must become the mother of other abbeys. This "call for the missions" cannot have its limits and knows no rest. Our efforts, therefore, have to be greater because the supreme aim of the Catholic Church is to render everything subject to Christ. After the Benedictine Order awakens from this century-old lethargy, it must become conscious of adapting itself to present conditions, to unfold its banners in the field of battle, where one half of the earth is the price of victory. . . . The stream of immigration is tending westward. We must follow it.[24]

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[23] Wimmer to Ludwig I, St. Vincent, July 4, 1853, in Mathaeser, *op. cit.*, pp. 52, 54.

[24] Archives of the Ludwig Missionsverein, Wimmer to Mueller, St. Vincent, December 12, 1858.

He responded even more forcefully again, and in this letter he summarized his driving spirit so well that it warrants quotation in full:

I really should not reply to these objections, that I am undertaking too much, or starting too many expensive enterprises, because I am of the opinion that I am doing too little. At times I feel sad because our work is not progressing fast enough in the construction of buildings, in the cultivation of the soil or in the education of youth, especially when members who worked with us for years are leaving the Order. No one who sees how a bad and non-Catholic press are systematically maligning and reviling the Church can find fault with my work. Moreover, who would not be compelled to warn the younger generation, when under various names the Secret Societies, notably the Know Nothings, are spreading their nets of infidelity, to catch the unwary. Or who could be indifferent, when the spiritual ignorance of Catholics, and more so of non-Catholics is daily increasing. Anybody who realizes that the condition created by such influences must bring ruin in the future, ought to be anxious to help in making the Catholic Church strong enough to permeate this indifferent society with the unchanging principles of law and liberty, authority and obedience, fidelity and conscience. All this does not require an extraordinary zeal for the honor of God or the spiritual and temporal welfare of one's fellowmen. Therefore, any sincere Catholic and patriotic American will do his utmost to promote the welfare of his country, and the defense of the Church against these evil tendencies. This result can only be achieved, if our immigrants who are moving into new regions, which are now the hunting grounds of Indians, are not neglected or forgotten by the Church, but cared for and educated before the infidels and heretics can gain influence over them. It is true, these foundations demand many expenses, but if these properties which are donated or purchased, are well managed, they must become valuable rallying points for Catholics. Therefore, as the military posts in these territories protect these people against the wild Indians, these spiritual centers will be the bulwarks of their faith against their spiritual enemies.[25]

It was a vision and a determination such as this which caused Abbot Angelo Pescetelli, O.S.B., to exclaim of the founder of the American Benedictines:

. . . I have great admiration and enthusiasm for the person of Wimmer. He is a man of mind and heart who conceives a grand project and has the firmness, constancy, and courage to complete it, overcoming obstacles

[25] *Ibid.*

in every manner. I see in him a type of the Middle Ages, illumined by faith, strengthened by hope, and filled with charity, a Champion of the Church and of the Order of St. Benedict. These sentiments have increased in time.[26]

Abbot Wimmer returned to the United States in December, 1855, and within a month had assembled the first general chapter of the American Cassinese Congregation, held at St. Vincent's on January 10-12, 1856. Before the capitulars of St. Vincent dispersed, they had discussed the possibility of accepting the pressing requests from a number of bishops to send a Benedictine colony into the West. Documentary evidence is not extant to identify all of the bishops who asked Wimmer for Benedictines at this time. From correspondence and references it can be inferred, however, that they might have included Archbishop Peter Richard Kenrick of St. Louis; Bishops Loras of Dubuque; Frederic Baraga, Vicar Apostolic of Northern Michigan; Henni of Milwaukee; and Cretin of St. Paul.[27]

[26] Archives of the Abbey of St. John's, Pescetelli to Seidenbush, Rome, November 7, 1865.

[27] Wimmer informed Pescetelli and Mueller that Cretin had pleaded with him to send monks to Minnesota (Archives of the Abbey of St. Paul Outside the Walls, Wimmer to Pescetelli, St. Vincent, March 21, 1856, ALMV, Wimmer to Mueller, St. Vincent, June 9, 1856); Wimmer was in correspondence with Bishop Frederic Baraga during this time (Archives of the Diocese of Marquette, Baraga to Wimmer, Sault Ste. Marie, March 19, 1856, copy); Wimmer had been invited several times by Bishop John Martin Henni of Milwaukee (Cf. fn. [20]); Wimmer wrote to Bishop Loras of Dubuque: ". . . A religious order stands in need of the confidence and benevolence of the Bishop, and in return a Bishop will earn a great deal of advantage from a well organized religious corporation; still there are regards for both of them, that must be kept in view, which, Sir, I do not think hard, if you want to know the men, who would come to be your assistance in the vineyard of the Lord. Therefore I thought it necessary to speak frankly and to say what is our practice now and what may be our practice afterwards. Nil nisi quod traditum est. We enter only into the paths of our fathers of old. We are Germans, but not so obstinately as not to conform to the genius of the country if it be a good, a Catholic one; we have our countrymen, but not exclusively; we serve willingly the Bishops, whilst we try to observe our rule; and grant slowly the preference to other orders, already established here, but try not to be behind them" (Archives of the Archdiocese of Dubuque, Wimmer to Loras, St. Vincent, February 8, 1856). Bruno Riess, O.S.B., one of the clerics accompanying Prior de Marogna to Minnesota, wrote in his memoirs of the trip west: ". . . Our trip to St. Louis covered two weeks. There we encountered some tempting inducements. The archbishop of St. Louis [Peter Richard

During the discussion the capitulars had agreed that within a short time they would have more priests than they could employ at St. Vincent, and thus they voted to send a small colony west as soon as possible. Wimmer and his monks, characteristically, decided that they would go where the need was greatest, and they determined, therefore, to answer the urgent invitation from the missionary Bishop of St. Paul, in the Territory of Minnesota. The abbot described the locality as "in the most western part of the United States where the 'Father of Waters,' the Mississippi, has its source." He explained to the King of Bavaria:

A few years ago Minnesota was an unknown wilderness, through which the uncivilized Indians roamed. It was visited only by daring hunters. Now it has eighty thousand inhabitants, among whom are many German Catholics. For twenty thousand Catholics the Bishop has only twelve priests, an altogether insufficient number because the people are scattered throughout the territory. Without doubt many of our Catholic countrymen, as elsewhere, would succumb to the stupid Meth-

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Kenrick] was one of the six applicants for Benedictine priests, and, when we arrived, thought we had come in response to his request. He would not have us go any further. At the same time congregations at Germantown and Highland, Illinois, had been informally promised a Benedictine priest, and from these quarters no efforts were spared to detain us" (*The Record*, February, 1889). Riess also stated that six bishops requested Benedictines at the time the colony was sent to Minnesota, but indications of requests or interest from five bishops only are extant. Riess, moreover, painted a romantic description of the procedure employed by Wimmer and his monks in choosing the diocese for their first daughter abbey. He recorded these memoirs late in life, and there is no factual authorization for the following recollection: "It happened in January, 1856, that six American bishops sent petitions to the late Archabbot Wimmer for the introduction of the Benedictine Order and erection of monasteries in their dioceses. This movement caused some perplexity. Widely divergent opinions and proposals were brought to the front in a chapter in which these applications were considered—one favored acceptance of this, another of that post. The Abbot listened, no conclusions were reached. Finally he arose and said: 'We will commit the whole affair to the hands of God—may He decide where we should make the beginning. I shall,' said he, 'write to each of the bishops and tell him our needs, i.e., the conditions upon which we will be able to correspond with his request. All of these letters I will mail at the same time and the first bishop who will reply satisfactorily shall have our priests.' And behold, the voice of God came from the West, from St. Paul, the most distant point which the mails only reached via Dubuque and thence per stage; from St. Paul came the first unconditioned call for Benedictine monks" (*The Record*, February, 1889).

odist sect if they do not soon receive spiritual leaders and protectors. The distance of the foundation from the motherhouse is great, too great, even though it can be reached by train in five days. But since the older dioceses are better supplied with priests, I thought that help should be nearest to the place where the need is greatest, and decided in favor of Minnesota.[28]

Abbot Boniface wanted this first daughter house of St. Vincent's, which developed into St. John's Abbey at Collegeville, Minnesota, and all his subsequent monastic foundations, to be centers of service to religion and society. Twenty years later, after he had spread the Benedictines into every area of the country, Wimmer refused to accept the compliments which poured in upon him from every side. He would not believe that he had been a successful missionary, or that he had accomplished much. With characteristic humility he said:

. . . Often it seems to me that I have been living too long already. My habitual sins—taking everything easy—I used to commit often enough yet, and the consequence thereof will be, I am afraid, a great lack of order and regularity, or bad discipline. Of course, they speak only in a complimentary way, if they call me an ornament of the Order. I ought to be one: indeed, every Abbot ought to be one: and those thousands of Saints of our Order were mostly all of them Abbots, and as such, ornaments to the Order and to the Church. But alas, after a 45 year-long life in the Order, I am farther away from the lowest grade of perfection than I was when I joined. Therefore it is, that I cannot do anything in the administration of the Abbey and its Dependencies, for which I am not more or less sharply censured: certainly for the reason that I never hit the nail on its head. Of course, I don't mind this, nor do I wonder at it, but often the thought comes into my head, that I am not the man for the office. To be sure, an Abbot's duty is not to please people, but to rule them; still as he ought to rule so, that they gain thereby, it is to be feared, they are not well ruled if they complain about me, and this fear is a grave one. In a few days I am going into the 70th year of my life. Only one of those 12 Fathers who joined the Order in Metten in its first period, is living yet, besides me—P. Xavier Sulzbeck. Of course, I am aware that the end of my career must soon be there. I am not attached to life so much, that I would not gladly die any day it may please God to call me home, but for the fear of judgment. A certain success and prosperity or good luck is no sign of Predestination. It

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[28] Wimmer to Ludwig I, St. Vincent, May 30, 1856, in Mathaeser, *op. cit.*, p. 81.

is a poor consolation for me, that I succeeded in getting up one monastery aided by the Mission Society, by King Louis and other good friends. The great question will be, if in that Abbey, and in the abbeys descending from it, the spirit of St. Benedict is at home or not, or only little, perhaps very little.

People may think that I have done great things, and God may judge I have greatly failed in doing what I chiefly ought to have done!! Not to speak of all of my private life as a priest and a Religious and an Abbot! I often think, I should not have undertaken such a work at all, because to do it right, would require not only an energetic, assiduous and wise man, but a holy man. I am none of that. For this reason I am afraid of death, but likewise of long life, since it is very doubtful, if I can or will do much better.[29]

*St. John's University*
*Collegeville*

[29] Archives of the Abbey of St. John's, Wimmer to Alexius Edelbrock, O.S.B., St. Vincent, December 29, 1877.

# BOOK REVIEWS

## GENERAL CHURCH HISTORY

*The Development of the Papacy.* By H. Burn-Murdoch. (New York: Frederick A. Praeger. 1955. Pp. 432. $7.50.)

This work written by a Scottish barrister, author of several works on both law and church, studies the doctrine of the papacy as revealed in history, especially in that of the first five centuries. There is an introductory section of three chapters dealing with the doctrine of the papacy and its different proofs, the third chapter discussing the texts for and against in the New Testament. Then comes the main body of the book, a little more than 200 pages devoted to the first five centuries. There follow sections dealing with later history in both the East and the West until their definitive separation in the eleventh century, and then the papacy down to modern times.

In each chapter the author makes it his aim to put down the historical evidence, as he remarks in the preface, "by examining the evidence of the words and actions of the leaders of the Church, century by century, stage by stage." Again he states, "Every event or writing relied upon by advocates for either side must be set out, at least, in summary." After this summation of the historical evidence there is given in brief form the views taken by Catholic scholars, the "ayes," then the views of the opposing camp, the "noes." There is an extensive bibliography, copious footnotes, and an index. A tremendous amount of reading and work have gone into the compilation of this book.

The author attempts, again to quote from the preface, "to present the whole inquiry intelligibly before the English reader of ordinary education, who claims no special historical knowledge, and who cannot devote years to libraries of history and controversy." It is a huge task, that of condensing the history of the papacy during the first five centuries into a work of a little over 200 pages. Perhaps it is an impossible task. Mr. Burn-Murdoch says, "In the study of the development of the Papacy, century by century, there must be frugality of treatment; matters that do not affect the central inquiry must be left out, however interesting in themselves." The present reviewer feels that this frugality of treatment has resulted in inadequate treatment that is misleading on essential points. The author omits facts and in the documents that he cites he omits elements that are essential to an objective presentation of the question and essential also to an evaluation of the "ayes" and the "noes." Let us take several examples.

In the treatment of Athanasius Mr. Burn-Murdoch has omitted all reference to Pope Julius acting in the capacity of an individual judge and not merely as one among his peers (p. 156). He cites from Sozomen a letter of the Eusebians derogatory to the See of Rome, but he omits a passage immediately preceding in the same chapter that describes a juridical action of Julius with regard to a number of significant eastern sees. There is also omitted a statement of Sozomen in the preceding chapter where Eusebius writes to Julius asking him personally to act as a judge. These are all pertinent points—not just arguments for the "ayes"—because without them no valid consideration is possible with regard to the charges of the "noes" that, (1) Julius acted merely as one among his peers and had no thought of claiming the prerogative of judging by himself alone, (2) Julius did not lay claim to any universal authority; his action was confined to Alexandria by virtue of some custom.

Again, take the treatment of St. Basil. The author lists three references of St. Basil to St. Peter (p. 172). The general impression given by these citations is that, to Basil's mind, Peter is the rock because of his firm faith, but the other apostles were equal in authority. This authority is shared in equally by all subsequent shepherds and teachers "who bind and loose exactly as he did." St. Basil's words immediately preceding the third of these citations is omitted: "We learn this from Christ Himself Who appointed Peter shepherd, after Himself, of His Church." It seems evident that this passage is at least pertinent to the question of a special prerogative in authority of St. Peter. Moreover, the third citation, which seems to stress equal authority in all shepherds and teachers, is from a passage where Basil is encouraging monks to be obedient to their superiors because such superiors have a share in that ecclesiastical jurisdiction stemming from the commission to Peter, "Feed my lambs. . . ." Now, Basil would be the last to admit that any religious superior enjoyed equal authority with himself to "bind and loose." They are shepherds and teachers, but subordinate to a higher authority. If it be objected that this is toning down Basil's phrase, as given by Mr. Burn-Murdoch, "to bind and loose exactly as he did," it seems just to mention that the adverb "exactly" is hardly justified by the original text, *luein hosper ekeinos.* Basil's own attitude regarding subordination of ecclesiastical authority is seen in his letters, e.g., *Opera,* [Benedictine Edition (Paris, 1721-1730), III, letters 55, 161]. We might recall also his strong reaction when Bishop Anthimus of Tyana attempted to claim jurisdiction equal to his own. (Cf. Migne, *PG,* 36, 572, A-B.) But really to look for a proof that Basil held subordination in ecclesiastical authority is as superfluous as attempting to prove, e.g.,

that in the late war Admiral Halsey was conscious that he himself held greater authority in the Pacific theatre than the officers subject to him.

In his following paragraph Mr. Burn-Murdoch misinterprets a document when he writes "He [Basil] does not seem to speak of the 'chair of Peter', but he congratulates St. Ambrose on being 'translated to the chair of the Apostles at Milan'." The inference the reader would naturally draw is that St. Basil seems to be more conscious of the dignity of the See of Milan than of that of the See of Rome. Now, in none of the editions commonly referred to (Sonnius, III, 830; Benedictine, III, 288—the text cited by Mr. Burn-Murdoch; Migne, *PG*, 32,709; Loeb Classical Library, *St. Basil, The Letters*, III, 93) do the words "in Milan" occur! The insertion might make sense if, at least, Milan had some sort of legitimate claim to being an apostolic see. What Basil means, as is clear from the context, is that Ambrose, who formerly had his place among the judges of the earth, has now been raised to a place among the apostles, that is, he has become a bishop.

Of course, the author might well reply that to give all this extra information would swell the book beyond its present helpful size and make it, perhaps, a two- or three-volume work. The first and essential point, however, is to give an adequate, though summary, presentation of the historical facts so that the reader, when he comes to the "ayes" and "noes," is not already unconsciously disposed to accept the latter. If this would require that the book be greatly expanded, then we can only regret that the work in its present inadequate form has been given to the public.

EDWARD HAGEMANN

*Alma College*

*The Catholic Shrines of Europe.* By John K. Cartwright. Photographs by Alfred Wagg. (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc. 1955. Pp. 212. $6.00.)

This very attractive volume with over 200 carefully selected photographs in black and white and eight pages in full color by the well-known camera man, Alfred Wagg, has as the author of the text Monsignor Cartwright, Rector of St. Matthew's Cathedral, Washington, D. C. The foreword is written by Bishop Martin J. O'Connor, Rector of the North American College in Rome. The photography leaves nothing to be desired, from the colorful picture of the Swiss guard at the entrance of the Vatican on the front of the jacket and the Rock of Cashel on the back of it, to the many cathedrals, chapels, monasteries, abbeys, altars,

details of sculpture, paintings, mosaics, etc. within the book itself. The volume contains all the shrines and sanctuaries of western Europe that are well known, both ancient and modern, and a careful selection of less known, both ancient and modern, and a careful selection of less known ones, such as the Church of St. Michael and the shrines at LePuy in France, the Basilica of Our Lady of Cavadonga in Spain, and the Silver Slipper Chapel in Walsingham, England. The author of the text, who studied many years in Europe and travelled there extensively over the years, presents the history and significance of these sacred places and objects, giving the reader the benefit of his unusual erudition and appreciation of them in a simple and charming way. Usually in books of this sort one may neglect the text for the pictures; but here the fascination of the observations and the story of these places carry one's interest straight through the text.

The opening chapter of the book is entitled, "Pathways of Christianity," followed by "Rome and the Vatican," "Italy," "France," "Spain," "Portugal," "Germany," "Austria and Switzerland," "The Low Countries," "Ireland," and "England." An attractive double-page map dotted with the large number of shrines and sanctuaries identifies them for the most part with the great monuments and cathedrals of those countries. In the "Pathways of Christianity" there is traced the progress of the faith in the early period of the Church. This is the region of western Europe that had been part of the Roman Empire whose people became Catholic in the lands now known as the countries above named. Here the places which illustrate this primary spread of the faith are singled out. In the following chapters the details of those sanctuaries are given with their description and history. The chapters on Italy and France are particularly appealing and it is evident that their story was a labor of love to the author. In quoting Robert Browning as he expressed his love for Italy in a bit of verse, Monsignor Cartwright observes, "His lines might serve to express the feeling of the millions who before and after his time have felt that this was the fairest indeed of all the countries they have beheld."

This book, then, is all and more than its title implies, in that it is an historical and devotional unfolding of the theatre of the life of the older children of the Church, where the genius of the age and the place gave expression to the sanctity of life and artistry of form to the inspirations of Christian truths and divine grace.

CHARLES E. FITZGERALD

*Holy Family Church*
*New Rochelle*

*Orientations maîtresses des apologistes chrétiens de 270 à 361.* By Joseph-Rhéal Laurin, O.M.I. (Rome: Gregorian University Press. 1954. Pp. xvi, 487.)

Professor Laurin's scholarly book, which is evidently the result of a long and thorough study of early Christian writings, is a welcome addition to the ever-growing collection of modern studies on patristic literature. The author's specific interest is in the Christian apologists who wrote during the years 270-361. As proper setting for his investigation Father Laurin first draws a clear picture of the political, moral, and philosophical decadence of the pagan Roman world at the end of the third century. He shows that not even the appearance at that time of religious syncretism, Mithraism and, through the efforts of Plotinus and Porphyry, of neo-Platonism, could stem the tide of pagan decline. With the exception of Methodius of Olympus who answered Porphyry's attack on Christianity, the Christian apologists of the period were strangely silent. But when Diocletian, in a desperate effort to save paganism, launched his persecution in 303, Christian writers promptly sprang to the defense of their religion, and for twenty years wrote some of the most interesting apologies of Christianity.

The writers of these apologies form the subject of Professor Laurin's present study. His chief interest in these writers lies in their particular approach to the question of defending Christianity. Was the juridical approach of the second century apologists still employed by these writers? Or had conditions in the Roman Empire so changed at the beginning of the fourth century that different methods or approaches were necessary in the drawing up of a defense of Christianity? What, in the words of the author, were the "orientations maitresses" of these Christian apologists? After a careful investigation of the individual apologies written by Methodius of Olympus, Eusebius of Caesarea, Arnobius, Lactantius, Athanasius, and Firmicus Maternus, the author reaches these interesting conclusions: 1. No longer was it the chief concern of the apologists to show the illegality of the persecutions against the Christians. Consequently, the juridical arguments of the earlier apologists were not then in vogue. Instead, these apologists preferred to use theological and philosophical arguments, e.g., Arnobius, Lactantius, and Athanasius, or the appeal to history as e.g., Eusebius, or to overwhelm their readers with fiery exhortations such as those of Firmicus Maternus. 2. Nor were the apologists obliged to answer the old false accusations of Christian immorality, since these accusations were no longer resorted to by pagan polemics. Instead, the passion and death of Christ, long a hindrance to pagan conversions, had now become the Christian writers' constant theme. Lactantius and Firmicus Maternus openly stated that their intention in

writing was to convert their pagan adversaries. Consequently, in these apologetical writings are found refutations of pagan philosophy side by side with positive expositions of Christian doctrine.

This reviewer also enjoyed reading Professor Laurin's keen evaluation and comparison of the respective apologetic powers of Lactantius and Eusebius. Since his book forms Volume 61 in the Gregorian University's series in church history, it will frequently be consulted by students of early Christian literature. It should also be read by experts in this field, and by everyone who may consider himself an amateur patrologist.

THOMAS B. FALLS

*St. Charles Seminary*
*Overbrook*

*The Illustration of the Heavenly Ladder of John Climacus.* By John Rupert Martin. [Studies in Manuscript Illumination, edited by A. M. Friend. No. 5.] (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1954. Pp. vii, 198, cxii; 112 plates. $25.00.)

A monograph on the Ladder of John Climacus should be welcomed not only by Byzantinists, but also by students of ascetic literature because this work is one of the most famous and most popular Byzantine treatises on the ascetic life. It was written probably during the first part of the seventh century by John, monk of Mt. Sinai, who described in his treatise the various steps in a monk's struggle toward perfection in terms of the rungs of a ladder (climax) which an ascetic had to ascend in order to reach perfection. The author was inspired by the biblical account of Jacob's ladder, and the thirty rungs of his ladder correspond to the thirty years of Jesus' life spent in obscurity. The work was widely read by Greek monks, as is attested by the extraordinary wealth of manuscripts in which it is preserved. Unfortunately, we must still rely on the *editio princeps* published—with the *scholia* and a Latin translation—by the Jesuit Rader in 1633, and reprinted in Migne (*Patrologia Graeca*, Volume 88). P. Travisan republished Rader's text with an Italian translation and a short commentary in the *Corona patrum Salesiana* (Turin, 1941), in two volumes. This edition seems to have escaped Martin's attention. Fortunately, Rader's text seems quite reliably edited, as is clear from Martin's comparison of his text with the principal manuscripts. After giving a short analysis of the text of the Ladder, Martin studies the pictorial representation of the Heavenly Ladder and the portrait of the author. In most of the manuscripts the decoration is limited to an illustration of the Ladder, to which sometimes the portrait of the author is added. Only a few manuscripts have full pictorial cycles, and

Martin analyses carefully the Princeton Ms., Vat. Gr. 394 and Stauronikita 50, Sinai Gr. 418, Coislin 263, Vat. Rossianus 251, and Vat. Gr. 1754. He comes to the conclusion that before the year 1000 there did not exist any kind of cyclic illustration of the Climax. Although the miniatures of the Ladder and the author show, in general, a certain uniformity, the manuscripts containing the cyclic illustrations reveal astonishing divergences. A minute study of the cyclic illustrations brings Martin to the conclusion, "that the surviving recensions were not derived from a single archetype, but evolved independently, and that in all probability they were not created before the eleventh century" (p. 123). But there is still a considerable interrelationship between the cycles, and it is possible to surmise that there might have existed, primitively, an archetype which is lost. It might have originated in Syria or in Constantinople. One thing seems certain, viz., that "the illustrators of the Climacus made use of existing scenes glorifying the eremitical life" (p. 127).

The text of the Climax is followed by a penitential canon in honor of the "holy criminals," penitent monks mentioned in chapter five of the Ladder. Martin gives not only a detailed description of the illustrations accompanying the canon, but also the text, with translation, of this remarkable hymn according to its chief copy in Vat. Gr. 1754. This is most welcome, since the text, which seems to have been sung in monastic communities with the intention of moving the monks to a spirit of profound contrition, has not heretofore been published in complete form. It is impossible to determine the date of the composition of this anonymous canon. It is constructed according to an acrostic, and this form can be traced in liturgical hymns as far back as the ninth century. The illustrations of the penitential canon can be dated with greater precision. The eleventh century is the *terminus a quo* of this type of illustration.

In a chapter—too brief to satisfy a historian of Byzantine monasticism—Martin tries to explain why a new kind of monastic art had started to develop in the eleventh century. He recalls that scenes of monastic life were pictured at that time not only in the Ladder, but also in the romance of Barlaam and Joasaph and in the so-called "monastic psalters." This group of manuscripts, characterized by its distinctive marginal illustrations, constitutes a special type, of which the ninth-century Chludoff Psalter in Moscow is a particularly important specimen. Its pattern is followed also by its eleventh-century copies—the Theodore Psalter in London, and the Barberini Psalter—but the number of saints pictured in the Chludoff Psalter is considerably greater. A similar phenomenon can be observed in other psalters of this kind, as, e.g., in the Vat. Gr. 752, or 1927. The author calls attention, too, to the fact that the mosaic of Hosios Loukas in Greece, dating from the same period, betrays the same ascetic spirit.

The new wave of monastic art reached Monte Cassino also, thanks to the initiative of the great Abbot Desiderius who appealed to Greek monks for the decoration of his new basilica of St. Benedict. The finest specimen of this art is a liturgical manuscript, now in the Vatican (Cod. lat. 1202), containing the life of St. Benedict the Great, and of Sts. Maur and Scholastica.

All this shows that a new lively ascetic movement of some consequence had started in Constantinople after the year 1000. Martin gives a survey of some known facts which clearly show that the monastic ideal, always held in high esteem in Byzantium, was especially revered in Constantinople in the eleventh century. It was the period which saw the rise of the monastic establishment at Mount Athos, the administration of which was mostly based on the Typicon of the Studios in Constantinople, and the author especially, and rightly, emphasizes the influence of the great mystic of the time, St. Symeon the Younger, whose life was written by his disciple Nicetas Stethatus. St. Symeon's ascetic theology bears some resemblance to that of Climacus, especially in its practical aspect. In the theoretical aspect, however, Symeon's ascetic teaching differs considerably from that of the Ladder. He rejects a purely intellectual system of devotions, "and insists instead on the efficacy of ceaseless tears and penitence" (p. 158).

It is generally believed that Symeon's influence became apparent only during the Hesychastic movement in the fourteenth century. That his mystical doctrines were not fully accepted until then is true, but Martin is right in stressing the fact that Symeon's influence was one of the important forces behind the new ascetic movement which permeated Greek monasticism and Byzantine society in the eleventh century. All this explains also the new era of monastic art which characterized this period.

Martin's book will be of considerable aid to the scholar who embarks on the task of preparing a critical edition of the Ladder. This will be a formidable undertaking, however, because of the numerous manuscripts which will have to be checked and compared. In this respect particularly the future editor will find Martin's work helpful, for he gives at least the description of those manuscripts that have figure illustrations (pp. 165-192). A new edition of the Ladder, and a thorough examination of the development of Byzantine ascetic theology still constitute major desiderata of Greek theological studies.

FRANCIS DVORNIK

*Dumbarton Oaks*
*Harvard University*

*The Growth of Papal Government in the Middle Ages. A Study in the Ideological Relation of Clerical to Lay Power.* By Walter Ullmann. (London: Methuen and Co. Ltd. 1955. Pp. xviii, 482. 42 S.)

This notable contribution by the university lecturer in mediaeval history at Cambridge traces, with precision and profound scholarship, the development of the ideological relation between ecclesiastical and lay governmental power in Christendom from the fourth to the twelfth century. The Christianized Roman Empire precipitated a long series of conflicts between the popes and the emperors with regard to the jurisdictional and magisterial headship of the Christian world. The formulation of the ecclesiastical position was necessitated by the unreasonable and excessive claims of the emperors to supreme spiritual authority. The period in question ends with the emergence of a new doctrine resulting from the impact of Aristotelian philosophy, in regard to Church and State, as perfected by St. Thomas Aquinas.

The author has related, with considerable insight and judgment, how the Byzantine emperors regarded themselves "as the personification of the *Rex-Sacerdos idea*" (p. 16), divinely appointed to rule their subjects in accordance with Christian principles. The divine claims of the emperors were being advanced as early as Constantine and reached a climax with Justinian. The Emperor Zeno in the *HENOTICON* of 482 purported to declare the faith for the whole empire without synod. It marked the rise of caesaro-papism in the East. Hence it became necessary for the popes to resist imperial claims both by the formulation of counter-theory and by action. Pope Leo I had maintained in the middle of the fifth century that he alone was "functionally qualified to rule the universal Church" (p. 2), as successor to St. Peter. But the architects of the developed ecclesiastical doctrine were Pope Gelasius I and Isidore of Seville. In refutation of the alarming regal-sacerdotal assertions of imperial power, Gelasius, at the end of the fifth century, clarified the standing of the emperor within the corporate union of Christians. According to Gelasius, since the monarch was not a bishop, he must be directed by the priesthood. The popes must render an account of how the emperors administered their divine *beneficium* of rulership. The Gelasian thesis finally resulted in the monarchical conception of the papal *principatus*. The Gelasian concept was elaborated by Isidore of Seville in the first part of the seventh century. His view was that the rulership of the emperor came from Christ "to protect and guard the body of believers in Him" (pp. 29, 30), and to support the sacerdotal word. The mediaeval hierocratic doctrine was produced by the fusion of the Gelasian and Isidorian ideas. According to this doctrine, the papal monarch was paramount over all other princes and rulers.

The ideological framework of papal government was finally adjusted by Thomistic thinking. The prior basic dichotomy between clergy and laity, projected on the level of supernatural law and theology, was superseded by the distinction between Church and State, considered from the points of view of both natural and supernatural law. Functionally, the canonists provided a new mechanism for the government of Christian society, beginning with Gratian.

In the opinion of the reviewer, the book might have given greater orientation, perhaps, by emphasizing the fact that the long struggle between Church and State is explainable not only by historical criteria, but also particularly by the failure of both sides adequately to integrate philosophy with theology in the political field. Professor Ullmann has anticipated the reviewer by stating in his preface that not the least defect of the book "lies in its not taking into account St. Augustine" (p. vi). It is, indeed, understandable how limitations of space prevented a consideration of the effect of Augustinian thought in a work which presents such a vast vista of controversial history.

BRENDAN F. BROWN

*Loyola University*
*New Orleans*

*The Prosecution of John Wyclyf.* By Joseph H. Dahmus. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1952. Pp. xi, 167. $4.00.)

The history of the fourteenth-century heretic, John Wyclyf, offers some close comparisons to that of Martin Luther. Both men found protection from successful prosecution because of the interference by interested secular princes; both proceeded in their attack on the Church by declaiming prevalent abuses, particularly those connected with its wealth. When Wyclyf's doctrine on the Eucharist is sifted from a maze of confusion and carried to logical conclusions, it approximates Luther's "impanation." It was specifically the doctrine on the Eucharist which bridled the success of both men. Wyclyf lost face with his political sponsors because of it, whereas Luther ran into bitter controversy with his Protestant cohorts. There are other comparisons between the two heretics which Professor Dahmus does not point out, but which become clear to anyone acquainted with the life of Luther. There is one obvious difference: Luther was successful; Wyclyf was a failure. The answer to this latter proposition is one of the many problems which the author solves. Though Wyclyf was shielded by certain nobles when he attacked the wealth of the Church, they were not prepared to defend him when it was a question of unqualified heresy like that concerning the Eucharist.

Some historians try to show that this is not true by pointing to the Commons' refusal to approve, as late as May, 1382, a statute requiring the sheriffs of the realm to imprison anyone who, upon the certification of a bishop, was guilty of a heresy. On the basis of this statute the king sent a brief to the Chancellor of Oxford instructing him to confiscate Wyclyf's books and expel his adherents from the University. It is clear then that the statute was directed against Wyclyf. Professor Dahmus substantiates his arguments that the Commons' refusal to approve the anti-Wyclyf statute sprang primarily from their hesitancy to extend to the hierarchy the privilege of giving orders to the officials of the realm. It was, therefore, more a question of anti-clericalism than love for Wyclyf. Historians will welcome the author's clear and fresh approach to the perplexing problem of Wyclyf's consistent escape from punishment during his life. Subsidiary to the principal solution to this question Mr. Dahmus shows that Wyclyf never considered himself a revolutionary or a heretic. He was fundamentally a reformer, interested in effecting his reforms within the framework of the Church. Wyclyf never withdrew from the Church like Luther or Calvin. It is interesting to note that, though his doctrine on the Eucharist was dangerously heretical, Wyclyf suffered his last stroke while hearing Mass.

The essential reason why Wyclyf was not successfully prosecuted during his lifetime the author finds in the friendship and protection of the Duke of Lancaster, John of Gaunt, for the English heretic. When ecclesiastical authorities first tried to silence Wyclyf it was Gaunt and other nobles who frustrated the attempt. Even after all other friendly nobles deserted Wyclyf, the duke remained faithful. Other reasons have been advanced why he was not punished, such as the bad state of his health in his last years, or the advanced age of his bishop, or the occasional confused character of his doctrine. None of these can stand the test of serious argumentation. These reasons undoubtedly contributed to the situation, but primarily it was the unselfish friendship of the duke which saved Wyclyf from the fate of a fourteenth-century heretic.

This volume is scholarship at its best. The author refuses to accept any unsubstantiated opinions. Many interpretations found in the modern classical biography of Wyclyf by Workman are methodically refuted. This book is not history in a vacuum. It is rich in background and full in its treatment of questions related to the prosecution of John Wyclyf. For instance, conclusions are drawn in regard to the government's attitude toward Lollardy. From the king to Commons there was consistent hostility to the Lollards. In coming to this conclusion the author dispels the misconception that the anti-Catholic sentiment of parliament in the seventeenth century can be traced back to this period. The translation of many Latin documents into English offers the non-Latin reader an opportunity

to decide on the validity of various interpretations of the author. No biography of Wyclyf should be read without seeing the conclusions in this excellent study.

JEREMIAH J. SMITH

*Bellarmine College*
*Louisville*

*Vaux of Harrowden. A Recusant Family.* By Godfrey Anstruther, O.P. (Newport: R. H. Johns Ltd. 1953. Pp. xv, 552. 25/s.)

This absorbing account of a famous recusant family combines careful scholarship with smooth narration. The history covers 500 years, from the participation of the Vaux in the Wars of the Roses to the recent revival of the title, created in 1523, in the person of Grace Lady Vaux, to whom the book is dedicated. Sir Nicholas Vaux was in the abbey when Wolsey received the cardinal's hat, and he was active in preparing for the Field of the Cloth of Gold. But after those sessions of parliament which threw England into schism at the mandate of the king, Thomas Lord Vaux absented himself from the House of Lords until Mary's reign in 1554. Meanwhile, distressed by the spiritual anarchy that prevailed, he found solace in writing poetry.

When Elizabeth devised "the religion of nobody imposed upon everybody," and Burghley's systematic stalking of Catholics got under way, Harrowden Hall, under William Lord Vaux, became a sanctuary for the persecuted and the hiding place of hunted priests. One of these was Edmund Campion, whom, years before, the baron had selected as tutor for Henry, his eldest son. Campion's martyrdom may have been the inspiration that led Henry Vaux to become a Jesuit. It was treason to be a priest, or even to harbor one. For such a crime men like Lord Vaux and Sir Thomas Tresham were arraigned before the Star Chamber and sent to jail. The valiant Vaux daughters, Eleanor and Anne, had undertaken the hazardous task of hiding the Jesuit superior, Henry Garnet. Imprisonment and confiscatory fines followed refusals to attend the Established Church. Lord Vaux died in 1595, a broken and impoverished man.

Disappointed and desperate when James I continued the persecutions, a small group of Catholics concocted the Gunpowder Plot. The Vaux family, normally aloof from mad schemes, appear on the fringes of the "Powder Treason." In the four chapters in which Father Anstruther discusses this controversial event, he makes it clear that he does not accept the thesis, most recently advanced by Hugh Ross Williamson,

that the plot was engineered by the government to destroy the Catholics. Many aspects of the conspiracy remain unclear; but there is ample proof of its existence. It is equally certain that the authorities knew all about it from the beginning and in time drew into their net many whose formal complicity is still in doubt. Elizabeth Vaux was imprisoned, but never brought to trial. Anne was arrested and later released. For his refusal to take a new political oath which would have amounted to apostasy, Edward Lord Vaux was thrown into the Fleet. And through the generations that followed there never failed to run "the golden thread of an undying and unconquerable Faith."

GEORGIANA P. MCENTEE

*Hunter College of the City of New York*

*Cîteaux and Her Elder Daughters.* By Archdale A. King. (London: Burns & Oates. 1954. Pp. xii, 411. 30/s.)

It was evidently the growing popularity of the Cistercians in the Anglo-Saxon world and the eighth centennial of St. Bernard's death in 1953 that inspired the publication of the present volume by an author formerly better known for his studies in eastern rites. He states, "The aim of this book is to trace the fortunes of Cîteaux as well as those of her elder daughters: La Ferté, Pontigny, Clairvaux and Morimond. This is done by treating the history of each house by way of short accounts of the particular happenings under each abbot." The author frankly admits that this method is open to criticism, but he justifies it through his intention of "giving a short history of the five premier Cistercian houses, rather than to delineate the work of the Order through the centuries" (p. x).

The first hundred pages are dedicated to Cîteaux (pp. 1-105); La Ferté (pp. 106-147) and Pontigny (pp. 148-206) each received only half of that space; the account of Clairvaux is the longest (pp. 207-328) while Morimond is dealt with in a more summary fashion (pp. 329-387). The difficulties facing the author in this ambitious project were extraordinary, caused partly by the unevenness of research covering Cistercian history and partly by his own unfortunately chosen method. The history of the early Cîteaux until the death of St. Bernard is better explored than the beginning of any other monastic order. The latter period, however, especially the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, escaped the attention of modern scholars. Hence it is quite understandable that the author found considerable difficulty in trying to organize the enormous mass of information regarding the twelfth century, while, proceeding

further, his sources yielded less and less details. For the last two or three centuries he relied predominantly upon the fragmentary material compiled in the volumes of the *Gallia christiana*. Since there are no comprehensive monographic studies on Citeaux and Clairvaux, it is surprising that the substantial and authoritative essays regarding these two houses in the *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques* written by the late Trappist scholar, Joseph Canivez, were ignored. The chronological list of the abbots of Citeaux as furnished here exhibits great discrepancies from that of Canivez.

The unbalanced and fragmentary character of the material is further emphasized by the strict chronology enforced throughout the whole book. While for the early centuries the author had to use great economy in screening the overflowing material, later, in many instances, after mentioning the abbot's name, he had pactically nothing to report. As another result of this annalistic method, the bulk of the published material is necessarily a maze of unrelated outside events, while there is no room or occasion to deal with cultural or economic development or with changes in monastic discipline and administration. This shortcoming is most conspicuous for the seventeenth century, an era of internal crisis which reached its climax in the separation of the Strict and Common Observances. The central figure of the long-lasting feud was Claude Vaussin, Abbot of Citeaux. But instead of attempting to analyze Vaussin's role in the famous controversy, after a few not particularly clear remarks, Mr. King conveniently quotes contemporary descriptions of the monastic plant of Citeaux for ten pages. If, elsewhere, he does venture to say something about the dramatic events of the reform, his story abounds in errors and misconceptions. E.g., it was neither the general chapter nor the Abbot of Citeaux who agreed to the formation of a reform-congregation (p. 77); it was proposed by Cardinal La Rochefoucauld, as visitor, in 1623. Moreover, there was no general chapter held in 1624; and there was no "second reform" started at La Charmoie and Chatillon—these were the very first monasteries where the reform began, even before Clairvaux; the antagonism to Citeaux cannot be observed before 1625. The abbatial convention of Royaumont was not initiated by La Rochefoucauld (p. 78), but by Richelieu, who, although never recognized as such by the pope, posed not as commendatory but as the regular Abbot of Citeaux.

The book will scarcely be popular with the general public, but scholars will find it a useful repertory of hard-to-get names, dates, and facts, even though it has to be used with a critical eye.

Louis J. Lekai

*Canisius College*

*The Catholic Church in Japan. A Short History.* By Johannes Laures, S.J. (Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle Co. 1954. Pp. xii, 252.)

Father Laures presents in this work a chronological survey of the Jesuit missionary activities in Japan from the time of St. Francis Xavier to the present. The tremendous scope of the book militates against clarity. The author's scholarly approach to the subject is, at times, confusing since he presumes a thorough acquaintance with Japanese history and geography. Lack of maps of any kind, and the absence of chronological tables, makes reading difficult to the uninitiated. Variation of spelling of Japanese names, e.g., *Teyasu,* is confusing to those accustomed to the Anglicised versions.

The work may be divided into three convenient units. The first treats the opening of the mission field and relates the slow progress made until the assassination of (Oda) Nobunaga in 1581. From the beginning the conflict between Christianity and Shintoism took on a political character. Local Daimyos accepted or rejected the new religion for political and economic reasons. Generally speaking, the Samurai followed the Daimyo's lead; consequently most of the early conversions were of the lower class of society. Christianity in the south spread more rapidly than elsewhere because there the Daimyos were anxious to participate in the Portuguese trade from Macao. The greatest period of conversions (1570-1578) occurred when a few of the ruling class accepted Christianity for trade purposes, bringing with them their Samurai and peasants. Many of the converts returned to Shintoism when contact with the European became unfavorable to the Shogun. In part two the period from the rule of Hideyoshi through the shogunate of Tokugawa *Ieyasu* [*sic*] to the Shinabara Revolt in 1638 is covered. Hideyoshi feared the inroads made by Christianity as a political menace, but he at first ignored the activities of the Jesuits in order to maintain the Macao trade. The San Filipe Affair, and the adverse influence of William Adams, an English Protestant, at the court of the shogunate caused Hideyoshi to begin the expulsion of the Jesuits from Japan. Persecution of the Christians followed, climaxing at the Shinabara revolt of 1637-1638 in which some 35,000 Christians were killed for religious and political convictions. Henceforth Christians and missionaries were actively persecuted as enemies of the state. The third unit touches briefly on the period of isolation (1638-1853) and concludes with a discussion of the reconversion of the Cripte-Christians. Approximately 24,000 people were found who had preserved the outward forms of Christianity throughout the period of isolation. Most of these returned to the Church. The institution and growth of the native clergy has been slow and, as always, there is still a severe shortage of priests. However, since the end of World War II the progress of the Church in Japan has been steady and promising.

Father Laures writes essentially for the student of the Far East. Covering only the activities of the Jesuits, he fails to give adequate credit to the missionary work of the other religious orders. Although the book is too specialized for the normal reader, it helps to fill a definite void that has existed in our knowledge of the Church in Japan.

LEWIS B. CLINGMAN

*Aquinas College*
*Grand Rapids*

*Collingridge. A Franciscan Contribution to Catholic Emancipation.* By John Berchmans Dockery, O.F.M. (Newport, Monmouthshire: R. H. Johns, Ltd. 1954. Pp. xi, 359. 25/s.)

The progress of the Church in England since Catholic Emancipation in 1829 has been so spectacular that those who guided her destinies during the later penal days have tended to be overlooked. There is no denial of their merits in recognizing that they were surpassed in personality and achievement by the leaders of the Catholic revival, and that the primacy given to the latter is justified. But now that the more important figures have been given their due, there is room for a careful study of the lesser lights and a renewed emphasis on the importance of the work they did. Perhaps the best way to achieve this is to produce a work on each of the vicars apostolic in preparation for a later work that will give a complete and unified picture of the whole period.

Father Dockery's book is the first one devoted to Peter Bernardine Collingridge, O.F.M., Vicar Apostolic of the Western District, 1809-1829. Born of humble origins in 1756—when Catholic fortunes were at their lowest point—he died in March, 1829, just on the eve of emancipation. During the greater part of his active life the prospects for the Church and his beloved order were deteriorating, and he would have needed maniacal optimism to envisage the developments that came even in the generation after his own death. Clothed as a Franciscan in 1773 at Douai, Collingridge remained there until 1791 and returned to England just in time to escape the French revolutionary armies which destroyed the college at Douai. From 1791 until 1807, when he became coadjutor vicar apostolic, he spent most of his time in London and occupied successively everyy post of honor in his order's gift, finally becoming provincial. His apointment to the episcopate was a burden to himself and a real loss to the Franciscans.

Those who may be inclined to take too gloomy a view of present conditions may find some comparative consolation in studying the lot of a missionary bishop in England in Collingridge's time. His vicariate had

about 12,000 Catholics scattered over Wales and eight counties in England. He had neither cathedral, seminary, nor fixed income. The dependence of the clergy on the landed gentry, inevitable though it was under the circumstances, greatly hampered the bishop's exercise of his authority, and further complications were provided by the undefined faculties of the regular clergy, the disputes among the French clerical émigrés, and the growing interest in Catholic emancipation as a political problem. Add to this for several years the virtual collapse of the Roman Curia because of the pope's imprisonment, and one can see why things went as they did. The grinding poverty may be illustrated by Collingridge having to wait for more than a year for an episcopal ring, and the inability of the convent at which he lived to honor its agreement to allow him a pound a week as salary. Given all these circumstances, plus his own narrow and defective education, his lack of personality and vigor, his experiences in France and his recollections of the sufferings of the English Catholics, it is not surprising that he was inclined to concede the veto to win emancipation, and that he could not agree with Milner. Strong in endurance and caution, he was not the man to initiate or sympathize with bold measures in any field.

The author has based his story on a detailed study of the archives of the English Franciscans, as well as on those of the Vatican, Westminster, Birmingham, Clifton, and Douai. Unfortunately, his book lacks order and clarity, and most readers are likely to find it too long. Even if emancipation had not come, Dr. Collingridge would have been eclipsed by his successor, Dr. Baines; and as it is, he has been sunk almost without a trace. Father Dockery has made a valiant and half-successful attempt to revive him, and in so doing he has collected a great deal of information on the customs and daily life of the Catholics of that time, on the functioning of the ecclesiastical organization in England, and on the history and personnel of the English Franciscan province of that day.

FLORENCE D. COHALAN

*Cathedral College*
*New York*

*Pie Nono. A Study in European Poiltics and Religion in the Nineteenth Century.* By E. E. Y. Hales. (New York: P. J. Kenedy & Sons. 1954. Pp. xiii, 352. $4.00.)

To the question as to whether a biography of Pius IX could be written at the present time this reviewer would hesitate to give an answer. Mr. Hales has done much better: he has written his lively and interesting account on Pio Nono. The author timed his book well, for, as he points out in the preface, he availed himself largely of Roger Aubert's *Le*

*pontificat de Pie IX* (Paris, 1952), the great merits of which were not fully stressed in the review of the work in this journal [XXXIX (July, 1953), 179-181]. He likewise leaned on the three volumes of Pietro Pirri, S.J., in which the correspondence of the pope with Victor Emanuel II and Napoleon III, and of his Cardinal Secretary with the papal nuncios from 1847-1863, were published and discussed (Rome, 1944-1951). While not pursuing archival research himself—with the exception of some references to the dispatches of Mr. Lyons from Rome kept in the Public Record Office in London—the author made good use of the English, French, and Italian literature concerning the period of Pius IX.

Largely due to the publications of Father Pirri, Mr. Hales has drawn more lively and varied portraits of Pio Nono and Victor Emanuel than those presented so far. The case proved more difficult with Cardinal Antonelli, whose political character—and it is on this that his reputation in history will depend and not on Roman gossip handed down in certain memoirs and contemporary accounts—will hardly be fully unraveled before the Vatican Archives for the period will have been opened for historical research.

One may likewise note with satisfaction that the politico-historical background is usually well rendered by Mr. Hales, and that the famous negotiations which Cavour opened with the idea of reaching an understanding with Rome receive a peculiar flavor if related to the *Kulturkampf* that Cavour's government was waging at the same time. It is also of importance to see certain articles of the *Syllabus* of 1864 against the background of events in Italy which were hailed there and in France in the name of progress and modern civilization. Furthermore, Hales is both informative and sympathetic on such crucial questions as the administration and the reforms of the Pontifical States, and on the personal part of Pius IX in the Vatican Council in general, and specifically on papal infallibility. A carefully worked out chronological skeleton underlying the whole narrative provides a welcome support to the reader.

Apparently Mr. Hales is less familiar with the literature concerning the American and the German-Austrian problems of the pontificate he chose to discuss. It is surprising, e.g., that he is not acquainted with the important source publications of Leo Francis Stock concerning the pope's political attitude in 1850, a subject which Pius discussed in two audiences with the American diplomatic representative. No reference is made to such a basic—although not wholly enjoyable—work as Josef Schmidlin's *Papstgeschichte der Neuesten Zeit* (München, 1933). Compared with such omissions it is of minor importance that Mr. Hales could have found more information on the "Centurions" in the scholarly study of Emilia Morelli on the foreign policy of Cardinal Bernetti (cf. the review of it in this journal) [XL (July, 1954), 204-206].

Following are a number of errors which were noted in this work which mar an otherwise satisfactory presentation. The author brings up the question of the Austrian attitude at the conclave of 1846. I think that I gave conclusive evidence from the Austrian archives that there was a veto by Austria, that it was directed against Bernetti, and that Vienna knew nothing about the personality of Mastai-Ferretti. Moreover, Metternich was in no way opposed to his election (cf. my "Zwei Studien zur Geschichte des österreichischen Vetorechtes," *Festschrift zum 200 jahrigen Bestand des Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchives* [Wien, 1951], 283-300). Concerning the Pontifical States, the Chancellor of Austria was even more correct than Mr. Hales assumes, for ever since 1831 Metternich had stressed the necessity of reforms insisting, however, that they should come from the sovereign and not be imposed on him. This attitude was also taken by his successor and his ambassador (cf. "The Return of Pius IX in 1850," in this REVIEW [XXXVI (July, 1950), 129-162]. It is not correct to say that the powers occupying the Pontifical States did not want to leave the country (p. 205); agreements providing for the withdrawal of their armies had been reached just before the war of 1859 began, whereupon Antonelli asked them to stay on. The present reviewer has an article discussing this question which is in process of publication.

A strange error occurs in regard to the well known leader of the minority at the Vatican Council, Bishop Strossmayer. Mr. Hales lists him (pp. 307, 351) as the Archbishop of Prague, while he actually held the See of Djakovar in Croatia. Strossmayer, who was to become prominent in the first period of the pontificate of Leo XIII, opposed the Vatican decrees largely out of his pro-Slavic attitude which feared a Roman centralism. The Archbishop of Prague in 1870 was Cardinal Prince Schwarzenberg, onc of the most influential nad most interesting members of the minority. Mr. Hales ignores him completely, and his biography in three volumes by Coelestin Wolfsgrüber which contains valuable source material, therefore, escaped his attention. Again one finds it difficult to accept the statement that "there was actually an atmosphere of peace and calm about the Pope's relations with the Bishops during . . . the Council" (p. 290) in view of the well known outbursts of Pius IX. It is a matter of regret that Mr. Hales was not aware that the council was held against a background of secret diplomatic negotiations between Vienna, Paris, and Florence concerning an Italian occupation of what was left of the Pontifical States. Pius IX was to some extent informed about these negotiations. On the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian War a wrong date is given twice (pp. 310, 313). As Lord Acton observed, the correct day is of some importance in connection with the proclamation of the dogma.

Considering the research of Simpson on this subject, the reviewer is not aware that concrete evidence supports the statement, frequently repeated also by Mr. Hales, that Louis Napoleon actually ever was a member of the *Carbonari*. Diplomatic documents, especially the correspondence with Thouvenel that fills the larger part of the two volumes *Le secret de l'empereur*, and the attitude that the French ambassador in Rome took in the fall of 1860, do not justify the reference to the Duc de Gramont as being "strongly Piedmontese in sympathy" (p. 187). In Paris he was criticized for the opposite. Concerning the negotiations Cavour wanted to enter in 1860, this reviewer does not hold that "an agreement . . . was not impossible" (p. 240). The concept of Turin was vitiated by the same defect that made the Law of Guarantees of 1871 unacceptable to the Roman Curia, viz., what was offered both times was an Italian law open to alteration through Italian legislative procedure.

If in a future edition of Mr. Hales' book these errors of relatively minor importance are corrected, it will be a further step toward a truly good biography of Pius IX. Even as it stands, his volume is certainly worthwhile.

FRIEDRICH ENGEL-JANOSI

*The Catholic University of America*

*A History of the Ecumenical Movement, 1517-1948.* Edited by Ruth Rouse and Stephen Charles Neill. (Philadelphia: Westminster Press. 1954. Pp. xxiv, 822. $9.00.)

"The vision of Christian unity, and the slow and late repentance of the Churches" form the theme of this encyclopedic history of the efforts of our separated brethren to return to unity. The sixteen chapters, giving the development of the ecumenical movement of the separated Churches toward reunion, are written by outstanding non-Catholic scholars, many of whom are leaders in this movement which has developed into the World Council of Churches. The first three deal with efforts toward reunion in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries. The Orthodox Churches and their contribution to the ecumenical movement are developed in chapters four and fourteen. Chapter five and the following chapters give the developments for unity in nineteenth-century America and Europe and the developments which climaxed in the World Missionary Conference in Edinburgh in 1910, the World Conference on Faith and Order in Lausanne in 1927, the development of the movements for International Friendship and Life and Work, 1910-1948, and the genesis of the World Council of Churches. Plans for union and reunion are discussed, and, in chapter fifteen, the Roman Catholic attitude toward

the development of the World Council of Churches is outlined fairly and concisely. Throughout the book, however, there runs the idea that all Christians are already essentially "one in Christ Jesus" in a sense contradictory to the unity demanded by St. Paul, e.g., *I Corinthians* 1, 10. An example of this idea is the view regarding "heretics as still fruitful branches in the Church because of their acceptance of the authority of the Scriptures" (p. 76), which is termed "one of the most important springs of ecumenical thinking." There is, however, the admission that the "non-Roman Western Churches are today seeking to recover the values of realized membership in the Universal Church of the Apostles and Martyrs" (p. 69), and also the acknowledgment that the origin of their reaction to progressive fission has also stemmed from "the Jesuit challenge in the realms of theology and church life" (p. 73) and a "sense of need for common defence against the perils of the Counter-Reformation" (p. 117).

Throughout this volume the problem of church unity is stressed repeatedly, since, as Dr. Florovsky writes, "Christian unity is primarily a problem of the doctrine of the Church" (p. 172). In view of this fact, it is encouraging to see the "steadily deepening sense of the wrongness of division" (p. 438) developing among the Churches together with the growing conviction that, "If there is unity in spirit, that unity must necessarily express itself in the unity of the organism through which the spirit acts in the visible world" (p. 492). It is also encouraging to see that our separated brethren "have been driven, sometimes against their will, to realize that their longing for oneness . . . cannot be satisfied by anything less than full corporate unity in a single Church" (p. 494). But, as Bishop Neill goes on to admit, "the final and terrible difficulty is that Churches cannot unite unless they are willing to die. In a truly united Church there would be no more Anglicans or Lutherans or Presbyterians or Methodists" (p. 495). Yet the great weakness of the present World Council of Churches is that it "is not based upon any one particular conception of the Church or of the unity of the Church" (p. 722).

To help solve the theological problem of the nature of church unity we must advocate the return recommended by Father Dvornik to the historical *fontes* of Christianity. Though St. Clement's letter is cited in the appendix of this book in reference to the term *oikoumene,* no cognizance is taken of the fact that this letter furnishes unequivocal historical proof of the primacy of the Roman Church "in the Universal Church of the Apostles and Martyrs." This historical document sheds light on the nature of unity in the primitive Church and proves that what leading Protestant scholars now admit referred personally to Peter (*Matthew* 16: 13-20) was actually applied by a bishop and successor consecrated by St. Peter himself. To deny, in the face of such evidence, that what Christ gave to

St. Peter was actually transmitted to his successors would be to rule out the possibility of the Church, as Christ founded it, having maintained its unity and identity. Then, indeed, church unity would remain forever, not an ideal, but only a mirage, for the gates of hell would have prevailed against it.

There are historical errors involved in the introduction—in the light of which is interpreted all the subsequent history of the Protestant Revolt—and doctrinal errors regarding the nature of church unity in subsequent chapters. Yet after allowance is made for these errors, this is a readily accessible source of information on the ecumenical movement that will prove useful to those interested in this subject.

HERMES KREILKAMP

*St. Felix Friary*
*Huntington*

## NOTES AND COMMENTS

Two years ago the REVIEW chronicled the centennial of ten dioceses erected in the United States during 1853. But after that date there were no new ones again until January, 1857, when the Holy See established the Dioceses of Fort Wayne and Sault Sainte Marie (Marquette).

The current year has seen centennials of another kind. It was on Easter Sunday, April 15, 1855, that the delegates of seventeen local German Catholic societies from various parts of the country assembled in St. Alphonsus Hall, Baltimore, to establish the German Catholic Central Verein of America, a lay organization of national scope which during the past century has shown vigorous leadership in many aspects of social action such as aid to the immigrant, the rural dweller, credit unions, etc. The Central Verein has sponsored much social legislation over the years and through its publications, the chief of which is its monthly, *Social Justice*, its membership has been kept united and informed on questions of national import. On August 13-17 representatives of the 68,000 men who at present compose its membership, and of the 100,000 women enrolled in the affiliated National Catholic Women's Union, gathered in Rochester, New York, for a four-day meeting to celebrate the one hundredth birthday of their organization.

A less joyful centennial was reached on August 6, the one hundredth anniversary of the tragic election held in Louisville, Kentucky, on "Bloody Monday" when riots instigated by Know-Nothing mobs of 1855 caused the deaths of about twenty Catholic citizens, as well as grave damage by burning and looting to the property of Catholics.

The present month marks the golden jubilee of the Catholic Church Extension Society which was organized at Chicago under the patronage of Archbishop James E. Quigley on October 18, 1905, by Francis Clement Kelley, later second Bishop of Oklahoma City. During its fifty years the society has done an immense amount of good for the Church in rural areas, having been the distributor of approximately $50,000,000 for the construction of rural churches, schools, and residences for missionary priests and religious teachers.

The year 1955 roughly marks the completion of the first half-century of the Catholic parochial high school. It would be difficult to set a definite date for the beginning of the movement, but an historian who wished to survey its effects on Catholic education in the United States would probably begin in 1905. In the discussion of the Catholic high school some of the founders of the Catholic Educational Association predicted the

decline of the Latin and Greek classical program. The effects have gone beyond the prediction and a good survey of the fifty years should provide useful information for the study of the new problems of increased enrollment promised within the next decade. The preservation of the program of history study in the new parochial high school should also be a subject of investigation.

September, 1955, marks the 125th anniversary of the re-opening of the old St. Joseph Mission on the St. Joseph's River near Niles, Michigan. Father Stephen Badin found that the Indians retained clear recollections of the Jesuit missionaries, although these missionaries had not been in the vicinity for over fifty years. The newer St. Joseph served the French and Indians of southwestern Michigan, northern Indiana, and even for a while the newly established town of Chicago.

The Department of Archives and Manuscripts of the Catholic University of America announces the acquisition of microfilm copies (about 300 feet) of materials of interest for the history of American Catholicism from the papers of the late President Franklin D. Roosevelt. These papers from the library at Hyde Park were examined and selected with the help of the director, Herman Kahn, by the Reverend Henry J. Browne, who is in charge of manuscript collections at the University. Due to the recent nature of the materials and considerations arising from literary property rights, there are restrictions on their use, but they have been acquired as part of the program of collecting important sources of a national scope pertaining to the history of the Church. Forty years ago with the beginning of the seminar of Peter Guilday and the *Catholic Historical Review*, the University assumed the place it still holds as the center for specialized study in the Catholic aspects of American history.

At a meeting of the Scottish Catholic Historical Committee in May it was announced that the so-called Blairs Papers, housed at St. Mary's College, Blairs, in the Diocese of Aberdeen, are soon to be made available to scholars. William J. Anderson, who until his appointment as archivist, was in residence at St. Mary's Church, Chelsea, in London, read a paper in which he described the collections as falling into two main divisions: (1) the Blairs Papers proper which cover the history of the Church in Scotland since 1600, as well as the history of the Scottish colleges on the continent; (2) the documents collected by James F. Kyle (1788-1869), Vicar Apostolic of the Northern District of Scotland, which had been kept at St. Gregory's Church, Preshome, until Charles Eyre (1817-

1902), Archbishop of Glasgow, with papal authority to back him, had most of them deposited at Blairs. Father Anderson has now almost completed a general catalogue of these important sources for the history of Catholicism in Scotland in the modern period.

The Department of State has deposited in the National Archives in Washington an additional 117 reels of microfilm, containing approximately 100,000 pages, of documents from the files of the German Foreign Office for the period 1914-1919. This group of microfilms supplements a large collection on World War I filmed by the German Documents Project and previously released to the National Archives by the Department. This latest group of films to be released was made under the auspices of St. Antony's College, Oxford. German relations with Austria-Hungary and the Balkans are particularly well represented in the collection. A further group of films, for the years 1914-1919, made under the auspices of the University of California, is also being obtained for eventual deposit at the National Archives. The latter will then have a complete set of the films made of German Foreign Office files relating to World War I, amounting to several hundred thousand pages.

Professor Ernst Posner of the American University in Washington held his first advanced institute on the preservation and administration of archives, in co-operation with the National Archives and the Maryland Hall of Records, from July 5 through 16. Of the twenty students enrolled, all with some background in the field, six spent the full day of July 6 at the Department of Archives and Manuscripts of the Catholic University of America. Educational institutions represented were Dartmouth College, the United States Military Academy, West Virginia University, and Woodstock College. Also present was the recently appointed archivist of the Archdiocese of St. Louis, the Reverend John H. Westhues, who is a canon lawyer and a member of the chancery staff, Mr. John J. Hennessy, S.J., of Woodstock, and Mr. Picot Floyd, a seminarian of the Diocese of Savannah-Atlanta, who is preparing to work in the archives of that see.

Among the many projects launched during the last half century for the improvement of textbooks in history is that of the World Brotherhood Organization. At the request of the W.B.O. a preliminary survey was made by Howard E. Wilson, Secretary of the Educational Policies Commission, and his wife, Florence H. Wilson. Questionnaires were sent out to private individuals throughout the world and those that had been returned in time to be reported at the session of the W.B.O.'s Education Commission at the meeting in Brussels on July 11-15 numbered forty-two

from thirty-nine countries, although none from countries lying within the Soviet orbit. The answers were supplied entirely by private persons and were not in any sense a reflection of policy in regard to official textbooks within the respective countries. An analysis of the questionnaires indicated, insofar as the limited data would permit, a tentative over-all statement, that there has been of late years a "more considerate and tolerant treatment of religions and of religious differences in textbooks." The report of the Education Commission of the W.B.O. on this subject will be published at a later date.

The annual meeting of the Manuscripts Society held in Richmond on May 26-29 resulted in the appointment of a Manuscript Emergency Committee to prepare for intervention as *amicus curiae* in the suit pending in Minnesota against the heirs of General John Henry Hammond The case grew out of the claim entered by the United States government for the Lewis and Clark field-notes discovered among Hammond's papers in 1952. To settle title a suit was instituted with both the discoverer, the Minnesota Historical Society, and the heirs claiming ownership. The manuscript collectors and curators from many parts of the country have been marshalling forces against the government's claim. The action instigated by the National Archives had the case moved to the District Court of Minnesota, and it is felt by the private holders of historical documents that if it is successful claims of title might be legally entered by the National Archives for all sorts of papers of men formerly in the government's employ and whose records pertain to that work. The meeting of the Society of American Archivists in Nashville on October 11 will afford an opportunity to Robert Bahmer of the National Archives to give a statement of the case and to have an open discussion. Meanwhile the National Archives, in seeking legal clarification through this case, has aroused fears that there may be threats to other manuscript depositories and private collectors who own papers of men who were once government officials. The question of the justice of title involved in such materials is one which moral theologians quickly pass along for judgment by the norms of civil law. However, the legal status of such record materials of civil officials taken with them after separation from government positions has not been clarified, although discussed since the days of Ulysses Grant and highlighted in recent years by notorious cases of the publication of official diaries of cabinet members and the question of the disposition of the papers of past presidents.

Whatever the outcome of the case, it is to be hoped that the official character of certain records and, therefore, the responsibility of the National Archives for their care, will be clarified. At the same time it is

inconceivable that an already overburdened governmental agency should be searching out and demanding for itself papers, even if official in nature, which have long been well cared for in private hands.

The origin of expressions or slogans in history, especially those that have been influential, is always of interest but usually difficult to establish. It is certain, e.g., that "Rum, Romanism, and Rebellion" was born before 1884 when its use by a Protestant minister to describe the Democratic Party is accredited with having helped to swing the election to Cleveland on that ticket. On November 11, 1876, however, what seemed like the sure election of Tilden elicited the headline in the Boston *Pilot*, "Democratic Victory. The Country Saved." This, in turn, brought on a sermon in that city by a Methodist minister, J. W. Hamilton, on "The Great National Danger of the Republic." As carried even by the *Pilot* of November 18 it read, "This prophetic gentleman saw the danger of the Republic in the combination of vice and ignorance and in the three R's—Rum, Romanism, and Rebellion."

The beginning of the *Catholic Encyclopedia* is the subject of a current exhibit arranged by the Department of Archives and Manuscripts in conjunction with the Mullen Library of the Catholic University of America. This showing of documents and pictures from the archives of the University depicts especially the institution's connection with this greatest of intellectual endeavors in the history of the American Church which began fifty years ago this year. Two of the five editors were from the University, Thomas J. Shahan, the rector, and Edward A. Pace, professor of philosophy. John J. Wynne, S.J., functioned as editor in New York, and two lay scholars, Charles G. Herbermann, and Condé B. Pallen completed the group. Over twenty-five members of the University faculty joined with 1,500 scholars from all over the world in writing articles for the *Encyclopedia*.

The *Bulletin* of the Research Exchange on the Prevention of War desires articles on the problems of war and peace. Communications should be sent to Erving E. Beauregard, associate professor of history, University of Dayton, Dayton 9, Ohio.

The Fondation nationale des sciences politiques has announced the opening of a Center of African Studies at its headquarters 27, rue Saint-Guillaume in Paris. The courses will be opened to qualified foreign as well as French students, and will cover all phases of investigation in

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African affairs. A weekly seminar under the director, M. Georges Gayet, will check on the students' progress, and a certificate will be given for the successful completion of the year's course, entitling recipients to claim credits in many American universities.

At the annual meeting of the History Teachers' Club at Notre Dame the theme of the sessions dealt with the problem of selling history. Besides panel discussions the featured speakers were Philip Hughes and William O. Shanahan. Professor Shanahan dealt particularly with the problem of selling history and criticized the attitudes of present-day history teachers toward new methods and problems in adapting history to the atomic age.

The history of the Catholic Church in the United States, as traced in the foundation of its dioceses, is the theme of a silver jubilee gift for Mundelein College, Chicago, prepared under the supervision of Sister Mary Ambrose Mulholland, B.V.M., by the seniors in the Department of History. Planned originally as a collection of autographs and holographs of all American bishops of the past quarter century, it developed into a brief presentation of the history of each parent diocese and its subsequent divisions and sub-divisions. From the selection in 1789 of John Carroll, first bishop of the United States, through the tales of pioneer missionaries in every section of the country, the project provides a miniature pageant of American history. Contemporary affairs are reflected in such topics as the long drawn out battle for justice for Negroes in the South, and for the rights of the American Indian. The bound volume of 150 pages contains autographs of eight cardinals, forty-two archbishops, and 152 bishops in the United States, Hawaii, Guam, and Alaska, as well as colored representations of the coats-of-arms of many dioceses, with historical accounts of each. The book was lettered by Barbara Baynes Mahoney, an alumna of the Mundelein College Department of Art who designed its general make-up and unifying motifs.

The first number of a new publication of the American Studies Association appeared in July, to be issued five times a year from an office at the University of Pennsylvania. Each summer number, as in the present case, will contain an annual directory of the members of the association, noting their fields and current subject of research. This nineteen-page unbound publication, called *American Studies*, is meant to supplement the *American Quarterly*, which continues with its more weighty essays and reviews. The new organ will act as a means of communication among those interested in American studies and will carry practical discussions of the teaching of that increasingly popular field.

The *Proceedings* of the Irish Catholic Historical Committee for 1955 contain the papers read at the meeting held last Easter. Four of these brief papers deal with the sources for the history of Armagh, and three are on the materials for Irish history in the archives of Spain and France. The secretary of the committee is Professor R. Dudley Edwards of University College, Dublin.

Soon after his advent to the See of Amarillo in 1941 Bishop Laurence J. FitzSimon began gathering materials of all kinds on the history of the Church in Texas and the Southwest. As a result he has assembled an extraordinary collection of original manuscripts, photostats, microfilm, books, pamphlets, and periodicals, along with numerous copies of documents from European archives relating to American Catholic history in that region. Especially noteworthy are the copies of documents from the archives of the Congregation of Propaganda de Fide and from those of the Society for the Propagation of the Faith at Paris and Lyons (the latter housed in Fribourg). The story of this collection was told by Peter J. Rahill of Saint Louis University in an article entitled "An Episcopal Contribution to History" in the January, 1955, issue of *Mid-America*. All students of the history of the Church in the Southwest will find Father Rahill's article of interest.

Patrick W. Skehan, professor of Semitic languages in the Catholic University of America, has been appointed Director of the American School of Oriental Research in Jerusalem for the academic year, 1955-1956. Monsignor Skehan spent the year 1954-1955 in Jerusalem as annual professor of the American School and during the present year he will continue his work on the Qumran scrolls.

Professor Aaron I. Abell, president of the American Catholic Historical Association during the current year, has brought to his position a large heritage of American Catholic history. His earliest American ancestor was Captain Robert Abell, who came to Maryland in 1649. Besides many distinguished laymen of the family in Maryland, Kentucky, and their filial colonies, there is the renowned Father Robert Abell of Kentucky whose oratory was heard on both sides of the Ohio. The first names "Aaron" and "Abner" are quite common among the descendants of these early English families of Maryland and Kentucky.

Jerome V. Jacobsen, S.J., a member of the Department of History in Loyola University, Chicago, since 1934, has been named vice-president

of the University. Father Jacobsen is also editor of *Mid-America*. William R. Trimble, who took his doctorate at Harvard University in 1950 with a dissertation on the "Structure of English Catholic Thought in the Reign of Elizabeth," was appointed assistant professor of history at Loyola at the beginning of the semester.

Philip Hughes, professor of history in the University of Notre Dame, has accepted an invitation to write the volume on the Catholic Reformation in the series edited by William L. Langer of Harvard University entitled the Rise of Modern Europe. This particular volume had originally been assigned to the late Monsignor Robert Howard Lord who died in May, 1954. Father Hughes is also writing a popular history of the religious revolt of the sixteenth century for Doubleday and Company, a work which will be along the lines of his *Popular History of the Church* which Doubleday brought out in October, 1954, as one of their Image Books and which has sold over 70,000 copies since it first appeared. During the current semester Father Hughes is scheduled to deliver two lectures on aspects of Elizabethan England at the University of Illinois.

Sister Joan de Lourdes Leonard, C.S.J., professor of history in St. Joseph's College for Women, Brooklyn, received a grant from Colonial Williamsburg, Inc., where she spent the past summer doing research on the legislative procedure of the general assembly of colonial Virginia. She took her doctorate at the University of Pennsylvania in 1947 where she worked under the direction of Professor Roy F. Nichols on a dissertation entitled, "The Legislative Procedure of the Pennsylvania Assembly, 1682-1776."

Harry J. Sievers, S.J., is spending the current academic year in residence at Georgetown University engaged in research for the second volume of his biography of Benjamin Harrison which he hopes to have published by the fall of 1956. Father Sievers' first volume, *Benjamin Harrison: Hoosier Warrior, 1833-1865*, was published by Henry Regnery (Chicago, 1952). L. Berkeley Kines, S.J., of the University of Scranton is also at Georgetown for the year 1955-1956 pursuing studies in American history.

Francis Paul Prucha, S.J., of St. Mary's College, Kansas, won the 1954 Solon J. Buck Award of the Minnesota Historical Society with his article, "Minnesota 100 Years Ago As Seen By Laurence Oliphant," which appeared in the 1954 summer issue of *Minnesota History*. The

annual award amounts to $50.00 and is given for the best article of the year in the society's quarterly journal.

Sister M. Justille McDonald, F.S.P.A., of Viterbo College, La Crosse, read a paper at the annual meeting of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin on June 25 at a session entitled "Ethnic Groups of the North Country." Sister Justille spoke on the Irish with two other papers being read on the Poles and the Swedes in northern Wisconsin.

John E. O'Brien of the Department of Social Studies of Seton Hall University received his doctorate in history from the University of Ottawa in June, 1955. Father O'Brien's dissertation was entitled "Efforts in the Field of Religious Toleration in the Early Political Career of Edmund Burke, 1765-1782." He utilized unpublished Burke correspondence from the Sheffield Library, England, the National Library in Dublin, as well as a number of contemporary pamphlets and illustrations from the British Museum and the Red Path Collection in McGill University.

Francis X. Curran, S.J., has been appointed to teach history in the new Loyola Seminary, Shrub Oak, New York. Father Curran has been working on a history of the New York Province of the Society of Jesus.

James S. Donnelly, associate professor of history in the School of Education of Fordham University since 1951, has been appointed dean of the school.

Sister Thomas Aquinas O'Keefe, G.N.S.H., died on April 3 at Christ the King Convent in Atlanta where she had been teaching during the past year. She did her graduate work in history at the Catholic University of America where she took her Ph.D degree in 1943 with a dissertation entitled *The Congregation of the Grey Nuns, 1737-1910* written under the direction of the late Professor Richard J. Purcell.

*Documents:* Documents pour une histoire du Séminaire de Québec (suite). Honorius Provost (*La revue de l'Université Laval,* June)—Reply of Mission San Gabriel to the Questionnaire of the Spanish Government in 1812 concerning the Native Culture of the California Mission Indians. (Ed.) Maynard Geiger (*Americas,* July)—Documenta de S. Paulo Di Rosa et de Missione in Acquafredda, 1947. Iosephus Löw (*Spicilegium historicum,* fasc. 2 1954).

# BRIEF NOTICES

BALD, F. CLEVER. *Michigan in Four Centuries.* (New York: Harper & Bros. 1954. Pp. xiii, 498. $4.00.)

This single-volume state history, done for the Michigan Historical Commission by Dr. Bald of the University of Michigan, adequately fulfills its function, if that function be understood as the provision of a textbook for the upper years of secondary schools which will also appeal to the general reader. Dr. Bald stops short of that technical perfection which the professional historian would expect from a man of his reputation and experience, and the philosophical content of his work can be best described as mildly liberal. The survey covers the development of the state in seven chronological periods, arbitrarily selected by the author. The best of these units covers the period of transition "From Territory into Statehood" (1796-1837). The influence of French, English, and American occupations is traced and interestingly narrated by means of the major personalities involved. Of particular value is the chapter on the War of 1812 which related the internal conflict within the state between the Anglophiles and the Americans.

Probably the most interesting and best chapters are those covering the progress of liberal ideas in a state traditionally conservative in politics. The chapter on Hazen S. Pingree, self-appointed reformer and Governor of Michigan from 1897 to 1900, the Roosevelt-Taft conflict of 1912, and the New Deal are not only excellently presented, but they evidence positive approval of the progress of these liberal trends, although the author does not attempt to philosophize or rationalize the reform movements, merely relating their chronology and sequence. The appendix contains a good eight-page chronology of events and an adequate, but by no means comprehensive, bibliography of Michigana broken down into subject group. It is regrettable that the bibliography was not annotated. There is an abundance of statistics and the line drawings (by Thomas Woodward) and photographs which serve as illustrations add to the interest of this attractively printed book. The few maps included are not especially helpful. (LEWIS B. CLINGMAN)

BARLOW, FRANK. *The Feudal Kingdom of England, 1042-1216.* [Volume II, A History of England. General Editor W. N. Medlicott.] (New York: Longmans, Green and Co. 1955. Pp. xi, 465. $5.00.)

The stated purpose of the new nine-volume series edited by W. N. Medlicott is that it should "hold the interest of the general reader while it appeals at the same time to the student." Certainly Professor Barlow's first volume of the series has lived up to his charge. In his treatment of Church-State relationships Professor Barlow tries hard to be fair to both sides. However, after stating that lay investiture was "an innovation in England," and after showing how William I shackled the Church there, he writes: "These customs, when collected, became known as the 'ancestral customs' of the kingdom. William

established in England the practices to which he was accustomed and which had been general in Europe" (p. 130). Here and again on page 147 an objection might be raised to the author's use of the term "custom." It should be pointed out that so many of these so-called "customs" originated with the Conqueror, and if they were perforce tolerated by the Church, they were generally not admitted to be actual rights. Hence Professor Barlow would seem to have missed the point when he writes: "The Constitutions of Clarendon purport to record the royal rights in ecclesiastical affairs as they existed before the recent lawlessness. And the truth of the record was never disputed: the question at issue was whether such archaic practices could still be tolerated by the Church" (p. 294).

The author admits that he is taking a risk in dispensing with footnotes since he cannot "qualify generalizations or support his individual views." The following statements would seem to demand a bit more than qualification at times. "Latin is a gross and imprecise language, unsuited to logic and philosophy; so that the greatest scholastic achievements fell short of what might have been done had the medium been better" (p. 138). "The cathedrals 'sold' chrism to their daughter churches [by the eleventh century]; the parish priests charged for baptism . . ." (p. 31). "The white monks . . . were so humble that they knew they were superior to other men" (p. 241). "The popular religion, however, was informed by pagan festivals and deeply coloured by superstitions with which the Church had compromised" (p. 26). Moreover, to say that "the belief was spreading that Holy Orders were a sacrament" surely calls for a bit of explanation. One wonders concerning Barlow's sympathy with and/or understanding of such things as saints, sacramentals, relics, and sacraments of the Church. In this same regard what seems to be a faulty translation should be corrected. Barlow has Peter of Blois saying that it is holy to serve the king, "for he is a saint and the Christ of the Lord . . ." (p. 238). We prefer to follow Petit-Dutaillis' version: "for he is holy and annointed of the Lord—car il est saint et christ du Seigneur" (*La monarchie féodale*, p. 125).

In conclusion, we hope that the rest of the new series proves to be as interesting as this first volume. Teachers of English history would do well to place Barlow's book on the reserve shelf alongside the volumes of H. W. C. Davis and Austin Lane Poole. (HERMAN J. MULLER)

BATTENHOUSE, ROY W. (Ed.) *A Companion to the Study of Saint Augustine.* (New York: Oxford University Press. 1955. Pp. xiii, 425. $5.50.)

This is a collection by various authors of expository and critical essays on Augustinian theology, for students and amateurs. While the book makes no advance, it is readable and for its purpose useful. Documentation is fair, but the bibliography, largely restricted to English titles, is meagre and on traditionally disputed points the interpretation is modern and Protestant. All the introductory articles are well done. The discussion of special topics is careful and scholarly. In these difficult and controversial matters the authors' positions will not be acceptable to all critics. "Faith and Reason"

by Robert E. Cushman is carefully conceived and well wrought, but in our opinion the author does not explore the Augustinian concept of faith and its relation to reason and authority. The text is understood rather in terms of the modern tradition than in the Augustinian context. Albert C. Outler in "The Person and Work of Christ" interprets the Christology of Augustine, after the thesis of Otto Scheel, as an unresolved tension between Neo-Platonic transcendentalism and Gospel Christianity. The argument proceeds along conventional lines, and adds nothing new to an old dispute. Similarly the ethical teaching of Augustine in "The Christian Ethic," by Thomas J. Bigham and Albert T. Mollegen, is presented as a conflict between biblical and Neo-Platonic elements. From this point of view both the Christology and the ethic of Augustine are, to some degree, at variance with New Testament theology.

We could wish that, for the benefit of students not familiar with the literature, the authors had more clearly marked the controversial character of these positions. One is left with the impression that modern scholarship has solved all these problems as indicated. Failure to make clear the extent to which the proposed solutions are still debatable is the great defect of this book, and one which limits greatly its usefulness. The concluding article, "The Devotional Life," by Roger Hazelton, is excellent, the best of the collection. (WILLIAM J. ROCHE)

BEALE, HOWARD K. (Ed.). *Charles A. Beard, An Appraisal.* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press. 1954 Pp. x, 311. $4.50.)

As Howard K. Beale, the editor, points out, this volume is not an ordinary *Festschrift,* for it is a series of Beard-centered essays since Beard "himself was important enough to be the subject of all the essays." The reviewer agrees with this statement and even applauds the objective of such an undertaking, but he has some reservations about the results. The essays illustrate the versatility and breadth of Beard. They give us an impression of Beard by Eric Goldman, an English view of him by Harold J. Laski, a treatment of him as an historian and as an historical critic by Beale and Merle Curti, a description of him as a teacher by Arthur W. Macmahon, and a discussion of him as a public man by George S. Counts. The essays also analyze Beard's beliefs. Max Lerner comments on his political theory, Richard Hofstadter re-examines his interpretation of the Constitution, Luther Gulick looks at his ideas on municipal reform, and George Leighton writes about Beard and foreign policy. Quite an array of talent has written the essays, and a man of many talents, activities, and fields of endeavor has emerged.

While much talent has written about much talent, certain deficiencies of the book are quite noticeable. In general the tone is a laudatory one, and while Beale points out that many of the writers disagreed with Beard's views, this disagreement has practically been shoved out of the picture. This is especially regrettable in the case of Beale's and Curti's essays where Beard the historian and historical critic has been looked at in an almost entirely uncritical manner. Only in Hofstadter's and Lerner's articles does any criticism appear, and then

only in a mild manner. One wonders how Beard would have received this uncritical analysis of his beliefs and career. One can overlook the fact that the essays overlap each other and that repetition occurs, for these faults are inevitable in any project of this type. But the reviewer feels that something more could have been done to reduce the unevenness in merit of the essays and to narrow the disparity between a serious and penetrating study, such as Hofstadter's, and the disjointed and flimsy impression by Goldman. Finally, it seems to me that there would have been greater merit in the selection of someone else than a member of the Republican Policy Committee of the United States Senate to discuss such a provocative item as Beard and foreign policy. (VINCENT P. DE SANTIS)

BODO, JOHN R. *The Protestant Clergy and Public Issues: 1812-1848* (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1954. Pp. xiv, 291. $5.00.)

During the first half of the nineteenth century a group of American Protestant clergymen whose theology was basically Calvinistic formulated a "theocratic" pattern for the new nation similar to the pattern first established in colonial New England. Their underlying structure was biblical legalism, the belief in the election of the United States as God's new Israel, and the resulting sense of duty to make the United States conform to God's law and to its own God-given destiny. In carrying out their program they became involved in such major public issues as the Indian and Negro problem, "manifest destiny," the growing concern for social legislation, the Catholic question, and the separation of Church and State and its attendant minor conflicts such as the all-important question of the place of the clergy in politics. They were also instrumental in founding colleges and universities, societies for the advancement of the Indian and Negro, mission societies and finally the famous American Colonization Society.

For the most part the Reverend John Bodo, a Presbyterian clergyman, presents an interesting account of the theocratic influence on the public issues of this period. The author is faced with the seeming inconsistencies of some of the theocratic leaders, but he manages to develop a rather consistent and continuous theocratic pattern. Much of his material is drawn from the sermons, pamphlets, and biographical sketches of these theocrats and from the proceedings and publications of their foremost organizations. Because of his lack of understanding of Catholicism, however, he is noticeably weak in his exposition of the "Catholic Question." To state that ". . . the power of the priests over their people was well known. The confessional gave them access to the people's innermost thoughts and enabled them to sway their actions at will" (pp. 74-75), implies a prejudice that is most forcibly expressed in his chapter summary where he cites Paul Blanshard's *American Freedom and Catholic Power*, as disclosing the hostility of the Roman Catholic Church to religious and civil liberty which, Mr. Bodo adds, these men a century ago discerned so clearly (p. 83). Accepting references, too, from the works of such anti-Catholic writers as Samuel F. B. Morse and W. C. Brownlee discredits his

objectivity on this particular issue and even casts a shadow over the objectivity of some other controversial points. Although the narrative is episodic, it does not destroy the purpose intended by the author. A more detailed index and system of footnoting would greatly aid the reader. (FRANCIS G. MCMANAMIN)

BROCHADO, COSTA. *Fátima in the Light of History.* Translated by George C. A. Boehrer. (Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co. 1955. Pp. ix, 242. $4.50.)

Conceived in a profoundly religious atmosphere, Portugal from its inception was the possessor of a militantly devout Catholicism. However, philosophic unity preserved during earlier crises was lost under the impact of the Enlightenment and the program of the Marquis of Pombal which narrowly failed to create a national church. After Pombal the schism in the Portuguese soul was rent wider as the next century witnessed the machinery of the state in the control of avowedly atheistic elements. The rejection of the nation's heritage reached its climax in the profanations marking the establishment of the republic in 1910. Portugal now saw the zealous spirituality of the nation's ancient allegiance to the Church and to Mary scorned and persecuted.

Costa Brochado has traced this historical development and the impact of Fátima upon contemporary Portuguese history leading to a new unity. Rightly maintaining that it is the historian's duty to ascertain if the events "were produced in conditions which can be certified in the light of historical criticism," the author has set forth a succinct picture of contemporary testimony that leaves beyond question the fact of the phenomena. While a service has been rendered in making this work available to the general reader, the historian will find some points on which to challenge the author's judgments. Statements that the real problem of the eighteenth century "was whether the civil power derived its authority from the Church, or if the monarch received it directly from God," and that the doctrines of that age "were nothing more or less than the belated flowering of the philosophical and heretical seeds of the sixteenth century," are erroneous on many counts. A justified but nevertheless strident criticism of the entire direction of post-eighteenth century Portuguese history marks the presentation. It is to be hoped that the new unity born of Fátima will not be devoid of Christian charity and love.

Mr. Boehrer has ably conveyed the essence of the original work in a clear manner, wisely inserting and deleting material depending on the needs of the English reader. (EDMUND W. KEARNEY)

BROWN, RAPHAEL. *Our Lady and St. Francis.* (Chicago: Franciscan Herald Press. 1954. Pp. x, 80. $1.75.)

"This Little Book is the first of a series entitled 'St. Francis Texts,' which will contain, edited and translated into English, all the passages in the earliest documents on the life of St. Francis of Assisi dealing with certain specific topics. Our Lady and St. Francis presents all the texts which refer directly or indirectly to the Blessed Virgin."

The above quotation from the foreword gives the fundamental purpose behind this short but helpful book. Probably the greatest importance of this series, apart from its convenience, is the splendid notation behind each text in which the degree of authenticity as well as the source is listed. Thus the amateur devotee of St. Francis is able to form a more accurate idea of what the saint said and did, as well as what he was supposed to have said and done. The editor lists his texts under the headings of historical, probable, uncertain, doubtful, and apocryphal. Mr. Brown gives the texts that treat the apparitions and incidents connected with the Church of the Angels, and the special mariology of Francis under the devotion to Mary as Mother of God and Lover of Poverty. The prayers composed in her honor and the story of the Portiuncula Indulgence are also verified.

Students of mariology and friends of St. Francis will appreciate this book for its contribution to an accurate knowledge of another devoted son of Mary. (EDWARD C. DUNN)

CATTA, ETIENNE. *La Visitation Sainte-Marie de Nantes (1630-1792).* [Etudes de théologie et d'histoire de la spiritualité, XIII.] (Paris: Librairie Philosophique J. Vrin. 1954. Pp. 574.)

This book has as its subtitle "*La vie d'un monastère sous l'ancien régime,*" and it is, indeed, a biography of an institution. Perhaps, disproportionate space has been allotted to the origins of the monastery and to the antecedent history of the other religious institutions in Nantes, but in the main the story of the house from 1630, the year of its foundation, to 1792 when it fell before the revolutionary attacks, offers considerable interest. The book is based on careful research in the archives of the Visitation of Nantes, the author's principal sources being the chronicle of the house, the *Petit catéchisme* (intended to teach the young religious the history of their monastery and as reliable as it is transparently naïve), and the biographies of the Visitandines who lived in the monastery of Nantes. From these manuscript sources, as well as from more general works on the order, the author has been able to write a sympathetic and detailed narrative which seems to breathe the spirit of the order itself.

This work should be of interest to students of the history of spirituality. It affords an angle from which to study the influence of St. Francis de Sales and St. Jane Frances de Chantal, and also of M. Olier. It has something to contribute to the history of devotion to the Sacred Heart. The author devotes considerable attention to the problem of the identity of a Visitandine who apparently received revelations similar to those received by St. Margaret Mary Alacoque a century earlier. The reader sees the impact of Jansenism as it appeared to a group of women who sustained a courageous and skilful defense against it. The greatest merit of the work lies in the fact that it lets the reader follow the evolution of a typical Visitandine monastery from its origins as a contemplative organization, through the emergence of its educational work and its destruction in the French Revolution, to its resuscitation in its original contemplative form in the early nineteenth century. (MARY HALL QUINLAN)

CIESLIK, HUBERT, S.J. *Gotō Juan* [Schriftenreihe der Neuen Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft. No. XII.] (Schöneck-Beckenried, Switzerland: Administration der Neuen Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft. 1954. Pp. 38. S fr. 2.40.)

This booklet is a gem of historical research in mission history. Known to mission historians of Japan for only the brief period from about 1613 to 1624, Gotō Juan was a Japanese Catholic, a scion of the Samurai nobility. What is known of him is that he served his country in an eminent way, making wasteland fertile for rice culture and thus helping poor Japanese, mostly Christians, to make their living. For that reason he became famous among all his countrymen, and even down to our day he has been exalted like a demigod. During the fierce persecution of 1613 and after he gave an outstanding example as a faithful Catholic and leader that brought him (in his high position) first banishment and most probably death for his faith. Data on Gotō Juan's life are scarce; yet by diligent research and critical evaluation of sources Father Cieslik has produced a quite satisfying historical picture of this noble man. For Catholicism in Japan he was a lay apostle of the highest type. (MATHIAS BRAUN)

COOPER, JAMES FENIMORE. *The Leatherstocking Saga.* Being those parts *The Deerslayer, The Last of the Mohicans, The Pathfinder, The Pioneers,* and *The Prairie* which specially pertain to Natty Bumppo, otherwise known as Pathfinder, Deerslayer, or Hawkeye; the whole arranged in chronological order from Hawkeye's youth on the New York frontier in King George's War until his death on the Western prairies in Jefferson's Administration. Edited by Allan Nevins. Illustrated by Reginald Marsh. (New York: Pantheon Books, Inc. 1954. Pp. x, 833. $8.50.)

The novels of James Fenimore Cooper have never quite fallen into the total oblivion that overtook Melville's work long before his death, and which persisted until the resurrection of his reputation by Raymond Weaver in the early 1920's. But in a sense Cooper's lot has been worse. He has been patronized by his inferiors, relegated to an audience of children, and when he has been remembered at all it has been for the wrong reasons. Criticism, in the sense it has been so richly accorded to Hawthorne, Melville, and Henry James during the past twenty-five years, has almost completely by-passed Cooper. And yet Cooper belongs with these names as one of the several greatest of the American novelists.

"F. Cooper is a rare artist. He has been one of my masters. He is my constant companion." As rare an artist and judge as Joseph Conrad wrote that, and it would be interesting to explore the reasons Conrad has been almost a solitary voice in acclaiming the fineness and maturity of Cooper's art. Several reasons are immediately at hand. Cooper was an uneven writer and his novels are filled with arid stretches that can be deleted with profit to Cooper's art, and with no loss to the narrative. During the past half-century reprints of his works have been infrequent, and many of the available editions

have had appalling formats. Finally, the absence of intelligent contemporary criticism has constituted a formidable barrier. Thousands of modern readers have been told what to look for in Melville and James, and they have found it, in all obedience, whether it was there or not. But no group of critics has given the more intelligent reading public any tips on the wonderful and surprising things to be found in Natty Bumppo, who is the subversive and alienated hero on a scale Melville might have envied.

The first two reasons suggested above for the neglect suffered by Cooper are admirably rectified in Mr. Allan Nevins' edition of the five Leatherstocking novels—the series which, as a whole, forms Cooper's undoubted masterpiece. The excisions are skillful and, if we are finally to read Cooper as he deserves, necessary. And it may be added that the volume itself is one of the most beautiful jobs of book-making to appear in its year. There is much less to be said in favor of Mr. Nevins' thirty-four page introduction. He says that we must stress in Cooper "those qualities which appeal to adult taste." But his own critical treatment of the fiction, if better than most, is still singularly ineffective from this point of view. Even more regrettable is the bibliography of critical essays on Cooper, which either ridicules or omits the most intelligent and useful criticism that has been written on him. D. H. Lawrence's *Studies in Classic American Literature* is ridiculed: Yvor Winters' excellent essay in *Maule's Curse*, the illuminating chapters in Henry Nash Smith's *Virgin Land*, and Joseph Conrad's short appreciative essay are among the omissions. And they are worth all the others Mr. Nevins does include seven times over. Considering some of the inclusions, it is extremely odd that James Grossman's recent biography in the American Men of Letters Series is not listed. (MARIUS BEWLEY)

CRONON, EDWARD DAVID. *Black Moses. The Story of Marcus Garvey and the Universal Negro Improvement Association.* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1955. Pp. xvii, 278. $5.00.)

More than a decade after the death of Marcus Garvey, both he and the Universal Negro Improvement Association, which he founded as a medium for race betterment, remain controversial subjects. *Black Moses* does not resolve that controversy, for it leaves many pertinent questions about both the man and the movement unanswered. It is, however, the most detailed and objective study of this "black Messiah" yet published. Building upon an interest of early graduate years, Professor Cronon has expanded his researches both here and abroad to produce a biography of a popular leader, the history of a mass movement, and a commendable volume on one aspect of the social history of the American Negro between 1915-1935. In eight chapters the author treats Garvey's early years in Jamaica, the status of American Negroes after World War I, the organization of the U.N.I.A. and its related enterprises, the decline of Garveyism, and an appraisal of the movement.

While *Black Moses* is much more than a biography of Marcus Garvey, he remains the focal point of the narrative. And it is meritorious that in appraising a personality about whom one is compelled to have strong feelings whether

favorable or unfavorable, the author has not permitted himself to be swayed in either direction. The result is the delineation of a leader with many faults and frailities, who was at times quarrelsome, distrustful, arrogant, and inclined to an exaggerated view of his own abilities, but who was basically honest, sincere, and convinced that his was the solution to the problem of Negro advancement. The negligible success of Garvey's program of economic co-operation and African nationalism is attributed more to the fact that they were premature than that they were unsound. In spite of the commission of colossal blunders—e.g., negotiations with the Ku Klux Klan and the surrender of economic rights of Negroes in the interest of African nationalism—Garvey was able to engender an intense pride in race among the Negro masses which has spearheaded the drive for "Negro rights" since the 1920's.

This slight volume is written in a clear and readable style and should have wide appeal, for it can be profitably read by the historian, sociologist, or student of psychology. The author has culled virtually all the available material, although much of it is widely scattered and admittedly fragmentary. His well-founded conclusions attest the fact that he has no thesis to prove. The format is attractive and the bibliography adequate without being exhaustive. (BERNARD H. NELSON)

CULKIN, GERARD. *The English Reformation.* (London: Paternoster Publications. 1954. Pp. iv, 105. 6/—.)

The present-day vogue of popular editions in paper backs or pocket size has the advantage of reaching a wide reading audience, which has neither the time nor the money for lengthy and scholarly works. Father Culkin, professor of church history in St. Cuthbert's College, Ushaw, has succeeded in presenting a concise, readable, yet somewhat scholarly, popular version of the English phase of the Protestant Revolt. We have here a distillation of the dissipation of "Our Lady's Dowry" which the three scholarly volumes of Father Philip Hughes treat in detail. Written originally as a series of articles for the *Catholic Gazette,* Father Culkin's work is now available for a wider dissemination.

In thirteen concentrated chapters the author strives to give as complete a panoramic view of the English revolt from Rome as one can without falling into a mere outline of events. The view, however, is through polemic eyes although the book's jacket reads, "It is not written in a spirit of controversy, but as a plain statement of fact." One receives the impression that Father Culkin is mainly concerned with pointing out that, "The first thing to remember about the Reformation in England is that it was an act of State" (p. 2). Consequently, the scales are over-balanced with Henry VIII and Elizabeth, with Cardinal Wolsey and Lord Cecil, together with the entire religious, political, and social background as rather secondary.

Though in the main this little work has a scholarly bent, it has not escaped the "ever-never" fever of the polemic preacher. Such a statement as, "But this movement (the Lollard) was *never* a threat to the Catholic Church in England" (p. 6), could hardly be reconciled with the judgment of Philip

Hughes, "There seems no doubt that Wyclif and the Lollards gave the bishops of the end of the fourteenth century a shock which they transmitted, as a kind of paralysis, to the bishops who succeeded them during the next hundred years" (*The Reformation in England,* I, 100). Another, "Few people in England *ever* witnessed an execution" (p. 65) would not be in keeping with the fact that executions were often a public affair attended by the village population. Also on page 97 one reads, "There were of course at times attempts made to limit, but never to deny, the exercise of papal authority in England, but this was the work of the Crown, *never* of the Church." This is to forget Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln, and papal provisions in the thirteenth century.

In spite of this polemic clouding of an otherwise clear exposition, one can easily subscribe to the comment of Bishop John C. Heenan of Leeds when he says in the foreword, "It is very satisfying to have the whole fresh and vivid narrative in one slim volume." Father Culkin, realizing the brevity of his chapters, gives an essential bibliography on the subject in the notes and suggested readings at the end of the volume. (Bosco Cestello)

Davis, R. H. C. (Ed.). *The Kalendar of Abbot Samson of Bury St. Edmunds and Related Documents.* [Camden Third Series, Vol. LXXXIV.] (London: Offices of the Royal Historical Society. 1954. Pp. ix, 200.)

The kalendar of Abbot Samson is an inventory of the hundredal revenues due to the abbot from the liberty of St. Edmund at the end of the twelfth century (c. 1186-1191). It is printed here in an excellent edition, together with the surviving charters of Abbot Samson and his obedientaries. The introduction provides a helpful sketch of the "obligations of society" exemplified in the documents printed. It also puts forward an interesting suggestion concerning the identity of the famous chronicler of Bury St. Edmunds, Jocelyn of Brakelond. The charters provide evidence that there were two Jocelyns among the monks of the abbey. It is no longer necessary, therefore, to identify Jocelyn of Brakelond with that "Jocelyn the almoner" mentioned in the chronicle and in the *Electio Hugonis.* The editor argues convincingly that Jocelyn, the chronicler, is identical with Jocellus, the cellarer, whose dealings with Abbot Samson are so carefully described in the latter part of the chronicle itself. (Brian Tierney)

Drake, William E. *The American School in Transition.* (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1955. Pp. x, 624. $5.00.)

This comprehensive work by Professor Drake of the University of Missouri was written for the prospective teacher. The history of American education has long been regarded as an integral part of the training of the teacher. The author maintains that the latter is not competent to teach in American schools if he or she has not a reasonably broad understanding of three important areas of education: the American spirit in education, the place of

the school in society, and the growth and changing function of the school as a social institution. The purpose of the book is not to impart merely factual information; rather does it aim to provide a background for the study of numerous educational problems. Educational history is an ideal means of orienting the beginner in the teaching profession because it promotes a study of the life and work of great teachers. It likewise develops a sound respect for scholarship and furthers a better understanding of the function of education in American democracy.

The study is divided into four parts. Part I treats of education in colonial America; Part II outlines the struggle for independence in education, showing the impact of secularism and the tendencies toward a secular curriculum; Part III deals with the era of transition in which educational implications of the economic and social developments of the nineteenth century and trends in religious and private agencies are evaluated. The final part analyzes modern tendencies in education. Among the many pertinent topics discussed are the socio-scientific movement in education, the new elementary school, secondary education, higher education, weekday religious education, research and teaching, and democracy and education.

At the end of each of the twenty-seven chapters there is a selected bibliography. A brief comment is made on the studies listed indicating their value as supplementary reading. The book should prove interesting and informative not only to the student of educational history, but to the general reader as well. (FRANCIS P. CASSIDY)

FAIRWEATHER, A. M. *Nature and Grace: Selections from the Summa Theologica of Thomas Aquinas.* [Library of Christian Classics XI.] (Philadelphia: Westminster Press. 1954. Pp. 386. $5.00.)

This work is the third of a series of theological writings embracing the fathers, scholastics, and the leaders of the Reformation under the editorship of British, Canadian, and American professors. Mr. A. M. Fairweather, translator and editor of this volume, is a minister of the Church of Scotland and lecturer in philosophy at Edinburgh. In this volume he proposes to present the view taken by Aquinas of the moral and spiritual world in which we live, and of the conditions of man's self-realization which are consequent upon it. To this end he has garnered texts from the *Summa theologiae* that are intended to set forth the relations of nature and grace. The translation is not bad, though a number of inaccuracies may be noted. In many places it is evident that the Dominican English version has been used, or at least consulted, with some improvement, indeed. Though several Latin editions (e.g., the Ottawa edition with its wealth of references) are listed in the bibliography, and a lone footnote mentions the Leonine edition, the uncritical text of Migne has, unfortunately, supplied the working copy of the original Latin, and all the latter's inadequate and sometimes erroneous citations have been incorporated.

We may well question whether the book presents a selection of texts adequate to the purpose and title of the volume. If grace supposes, cures, and above

all perfects nature, then nature itself should be given more place and the natural capacity for grace, which man possesses as the image of God, its due consideration. The editor perhaps intends his introduction (pp. 21-33) to supply for such lacunae, in the contrast offered of the attitude toward fallen nature of SS. Aquinas and Augustine and in the commentary offered for each section of the book. Yet this introduction abounds in historical inaccuracies and in doctrinal interpretation that leaves much to be desired. This is an interesting book, indeed, but an interesting disappointment. (IGNATIUS BRADY)

GARCIA SORIANO, MANUEL. *El Conquistador español del siglo XVI.* (Tucumán: Universidad Nacional de Tucumán. Facultad de Filosofia y Letras. 1954. Pp. 101.)

This book is an avowed attempt to correct the Black Legend which has pictured the typical Spanish conqueror as a cruel and rapacious seeker of gold who delighted in Indian exploitation and torture. It is unfortunate that such a legend should have ever arisen, and equally unfortunate is the attempt to correct it by means of fabricating a "White Legend." The work of Manuel Garcia Soriano belongs in this category. The author points out that the exponents of the Black Legend have created no more accurate an analysis of their subject matter than would the modern historian who wrote history based solely upon crime reports in daily papers. Yet it is difficult to avoid concluding that Garcia Soriano's work presents no more accurate a picture of the era under study than would a history of contemporary times based exclusively upon individual and, perhaps, isolated heroic acts of charity and sacrifice.

Questionable interpretations, based evidently on prejudiced and wishful thinking rather than on documentation, which is strikingly weak, cloud nearly every page. It will be possible to select only a very few examples. The author justifies the concubinage of the conquerors of New Spain with native women by the fact that marriage between Spaniards and aborigines had been officially sanctioned by the crown (pp. 15-16). The question remains: was the sacrament employed in the case under discussion? In describing the case of several Spaniards who were severely punished for cannibalism, the author reaches the remarkable conclusion that punitive measures applied equally to Indians and Spaniards (p. 19). Generalizations based upon one incident are useful only in propaganda. The exploitation of Indians is "disproved" by the observation that had the natives been worked extensively, there would remain greater monuments of their work in Spanish America (p. 26). Surely the extraction of six billion dollars' worth of metallic wealth, and the creation of an even more valuable agrarian system during colonial times, point to considerable Indian labor, much of which was certainly of the forced variety. The traditional reference to the manner in which the Anglo-Americans exterminated the Indians is made (p. 28); yet no mention is found of the similar methods resorted to by Spaniards when they encountered nomad tribes which could not be utilized for purposes of labor. Where today are the Indians of the author's country, Argentina?

There still exists a need to right the wrongs which historians have inflicted on the story of the Spanish conquest. Such efforts as the work under review do not accomplish this purpose, and in general render history a disservice. (FREDRICK B. PIKE)

GATZKE, HANS W. *Stresemann and the Rearmament of Germany.* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1954. Pp. vi, 132. $3.00.)

In 1953 the more than 350 volumes of the complete and unpublished papers of Gustav Stresemann, the Weimar Republic's foreign minister from 1923 to 1929, were made available to American scholars. The present monograph is the fruit of an early and partial exploration of this material in an effort to discover "the real Stresemann."

The foreign minister is usually portrayed as the leading exponent of Germany's policy of "fulfillment," a champion of international understanding and world peace. But what about his relations to Germany's secret rearmament? Did he accept the Nobel Peace Prize with his right hand and encourage remilitarization with his left? The basic answer would seem to be that Stresemann was an ardent nationalist. The available evidence indicates that he supported, at times actively and always in his heart, any move on the army's part that tended to remedy Germany's military impotence. It may be argued that in trying to free the Reichswehr from allied supervision and in not obstructing its relations with the Red Army, Stresemann was simply doing what any patriotic statesman would have done in any other country. What is beyond argument today is that he was not the "good European," the "honest dreamer of peace and apostle of reconciliation," that he appeared to many of his contemporaries and to most of his biographers. (JOHN J. O'CONNOR)

GOLUB, EUGENE O. *The Isms: A History and Evaluation.* (New York: Harper & Bros. 1954. Pp. xii, 681. $6.00.)

This volume performs an important service in our era of ideological warfare, when it is so necessary to know what all these "isms" mean. The author, a brilliant young economic historian, clarified the issues by bringing to bear upon the conflicting social philosophies that have been most important in the last forty years both historical perspective and theoretical analysis. This scholarly volume treats the numerous economic philosophies, not only as systems of theory, but as doctrines whose growth has been part of European and American social history. The book, for this reason, is valuable for a college course dealing with economic history. Among its interesting features are a reinterpretation of mercantilism as a continuing and vigorous ideology; a succinct analysis of British Labor; an analysis of the current trends in American labor and business as they relate to corporatism.

Golub is very fair to the Church in his description of what he calls social Catholicism. While he mistakenly identified the Church's social teaching with corporatism, he validly makes the point that social Catholicism has not been

accepted by the laity to the extent that non-Catholics might expect, considering the age and intensity of the social movement within the Church and the multiplicity of famous papal pronouncements on socio-economic matters. From reading this book one might gather the impression that no Catholic social movement exists in the United States. While not so politically effective as their European counterparts, American Catholics have not been without influence within their own social milieu. (GEORGE A. KELLY)

HARBISON, E. HARRIS. *The Age of Reformation.* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1955. Pp. ix, 145. $1.25.)

The Development of Western Civilization, of which this book is a part, consists of a series of narrative essays in the history of our tradition, edited by E. W. Fox. The slender volume by Mr. Harbison, presumably the first of the series to be published, is, therefore, meant as the basic historical reading for only one week in a semester course. Technically, it is a small masterpiece. The vivid narrative, the simple, natural organization, the clearly constructed sub-chapters, and also other features assure that it will be enjoyed by readers. As is, perhaps, only natural, the interest of a Catholic reader concentrates on the very definition of the main subject of the book—the Reformation. In his introductory note, as well as in two special sub-chapters devoted to the subject—"Conceptions of Reform" and "Christian Humanism"—the author reaches deeply into the spiritual structure of the epoch. And, far from identifying the Reformation with the Revolt—as has been, for a long time, the current usage—he unfolds before our eyes a sweeping, but comprehensive picture of the Reform as a basic trend, underlying all the various particular tendencies. Nevertheless, one feels entitled to raise the question whether Mr. Harbison, with all his competence of a gentle and precise analyst, really reached the core of the Lutheran heresy—which, after all, was a revolt. The doctrine of faith as a free gift of God and of the basic incapability of man to deserve his salvation is, undoubtedly, incompatible with the doctrine of the free will, that pillar of the traditional Christian wisdom. That, however, is not the heart of the trouble. Many a Catholic theologian has struggled with the problem of free will and grace. And many an observer of human life has hesitated, in describing this or that particular case, whether to speak of a merit or of a free gift. The sixteenth century itself has given us one of the most eloquent illustrations of this difficulty—the case of Bartolomé Carranza, the man who heard Charles V's last confession. But much more was and is at stake: if human attempts to do good were worthless, so was the death of Christ, Who had offered His life as a man, by a human decision; and the entire story of man becomes once again a farce and a tragedy. Only this conclusion reaches the heart of Lutheranism. It should be mentioned in any survey of the sixteenth century, no matter how short it be.

Two other criticisms should be added. First, it seems that the author misstates the character of the science of the epoch. Surely he does not think the growing mathematization of science and the resulting lack of interest in the sphere of the living structures a progress? The horizon of Albert the Great

and Nicolas d'Oresme was incomparably broader and deeper than that of Copernicus and Descartes. Secondly, in a typically American manner (a sub-conscious guilt-complex concerning England must be in play here) the Slavic history of the century is more or less ignored. And yet the story of the Reform in Poland, e.g., is so much more interesting than the story of Henry VIII and Elizabeth. American historians should finally realize that they are members of the leading nation of the world and not inhabitants of a British colony. But even if they do not, they should include Philip Hughes' monumental work in their bibliography. (BOHDAN CHUDOBA)

HAYEK, F. A. (Ed.). *Capitalism and the Historian.* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1954. Pp. vii, 188. $3.00.)

This small volume is a collection of five essays of great interest to economists, historians, and social philosophers. They are preceded by an introduction by Hayek, entitled, "History and Politics." This piece sets the tone of what follows when it speaks of the "legend" of the degradation of the working classes in consequence of the rise of the industrial system or of capitalism. To Hayek's mind distortion of facts, even when made by zealous humanitarians, has affected our view of a system which for the first time in history made so much human misery avoidable. In seeking recognition of the fact that the working class benefited from the rise of modern industry, he does admit that this is "entirely compatible with the fact that some individuals or groups in this as well as other classes may for a time have suffered from its results" (p. 27).

T. S. Ashton points out in a study of capitalism as seen by historians how they have misread sources and hence neglected to see the greater evils among domestic workers than in factories, and in the countryside rather than in growing towns. Louis M. Hacker defends the laissez faire nineteenth century against the anti-capitalist bias of the American historian particularly under the Beardian influence. Bertrand de Jouvenal analyzes continental intellectuals as attributing what was socially good to progress and what they thought evil to capitalism. The two concluding essays are a statistically-bolstered surmise by Ashton that more benefited by economic progress than suffered by it, and an attempt by W. H. Hutt to show that the evils of the early factory system have been exaggerated and that factory legislation was a questionable good.

These studies have appeared at a time friendly to their emphasis and, perhaps, almost because of the times. There is much of mere guess as well as more scientific hypotheses in them. It would appear that the historian is being challenged to another re-evaluation, similar to that given to slavery. In this case, unlike the slave, there are records on the side of the worker. It may be hoped that they, too, will be used to add enlightenment toward a truer picture of capitalism than found in the rabid reformers of the past—or in the sketches of the first of the new revisionists of today. (HENRY J. BROWNE)

HERBST, CLARENCE A., S.J. (Trans.). *The Letters of St. Margaret Mary.* Introduction by J. J. Doyle, S.J. (Chicago: Henry Regnery Co. 1954. Pp. xxxiv, 286. $5.00.)

These letters, written under divine inspiration and in obedience to superiors, are a valuable addition to the source material in English regarding devotion to the Sacred Heart. Father Herbst acknowledges that the letters were hard to translate because of the artless style and because different ideas, at times, were crowded into the same paragraph. The saint herself states in letter seventy-seven: "I content myself with telling you simply my thoughts without order or method, just as they come into my mind, without being able to recall afterwards what I had said or wrote." Moreover, the translator was anxious to keep the unadorned style which is so characteristic of one writing confidentially of spiritual matters to intimate friends and which best indicates the personality of the individual, so the only change he made was to break up some of the longer sentences.

In these letters St. Margaret Mary is revealed to us as a strong, humble, and loving personality absorbed with one desire to carry out the mission entrusted to her by Christ—to initiate world devotion to the Sacred Heart. While it is true that most of the work of promoting the devotion was done with the help of others, especially of Father Claude de la Colombiere, S.J., who was her confessor during the time of the revelations, and Father Croiset, who wrote the first book on the subject and to whom the saint wrote ten long letters expressing the essentials of the devotion as she had received them from Christ, yet she was the inspiration of their work.

There is much substance in these letters which may be extracted by slow and meditative reading. The effort will repay those who are anxious to advance in the spiritual life. Moreover, Christ promised St. Margaret Mary that He would give her writing the unction of His graces whereby many hearts would be drawn to His love. Father Herbst has done a real service in making these letters accessible to readers of English. (SISTER AGNES BERNARD CAVANAGH)

HOARE, F. R. (Trans. and Ed.). *The Western Fathers: The Lives of SS. Martin of Tours, Ambrose, Augustine of Hippo, Honoratus of Arles, and Germanus of Auxerre.* (New York: Sheed and Ward. 1954. Pp. xxxii, 320. $4.00.)

Students of ecclesiastical history and of Christian culture in general will surely welcome the new series, The Makers of Christendom, under the general editorship of Christopher Dawson. The volume under review is the first of this new series. The set purpose of the series "is largely to enable the twentieth century reader to see these makers of Christendom as far as possible as their contemporaries saw them" (p. vii). The projected volumes will contain primary materials which will consist of biographies, letters, and other documents which will enable Christians to become aware of the richness of the

cultural tradition which they have inherited. The five saints included in the volume were all bishops, and as such played an important part in the organization and development of the Church in their time. Furthermore, all were associated in one way or another with the great monastic movement of the fourth and fifth centuries. The editor has written an excellent introduction wherein he treats of the organization of the Church, the monastic movement, and the cultus of the saints in the fourth and fifth centuries, thus placing a solid background for the lives of the saints whose works he treats. Mr. Hoare has also composed concise and critical introductions to each biography. Since early Christian biographers were so taken up with the miracles and sanctity of their subjects and intended only to edify their readers, they manifested a notorious disregard for chronological details. The editor has again provided pertinent chronological data in footnotes which are more than adequate. The translation of the lives is on the whole excellent, for the editor has captured the naiveté of the original Latin throughout. It is to be hoped that future volumes will contain at least a general index which would add to the general excellence of the series. (JUSTIN VOJTEK)

JACKSON, WILLIAM R., JR. *Early Florida through Spanish Eyes.* [Hispanic-American Studies. No. 12.] (Coral Gables: University of Miami Press. 1954. Pp. 179. $3.50, cloth; $3.00, paper.)

Fabulous Florida—legend and fact—an oft-discussed topic of Spain's colonial venture in Florida, forms the basis of this latest interpretation. Through the media of contemporary sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Spanish writers, Jackson has succeeded in giving the reader an interesting sketch of early Spanish expeditions; a look at legendary Florida and its conquistadores; the value of gold, silver, and pearls to the Spaniards and the Indians; Florida as a land of plenty, and, finally, the nature of the inhabitants of this region. Mr. Jackson's main interest was to evaluate the factual content, the literary qualities, and the sources of several commonly held opinions of early Florida.

In the process of divorcing fact from fiction, the author repeatedly included several versions of controversial accounts showing why they could have been so diverse. The naming of Florida and the problem of Spanish colonization are but two examples of the subjects treated. He also focused his attention upon the early writers and their qualifications. Not all were historians. Like Oviedo, Las Casas, Martyr, Gómara, and Herrera, some had never been to Florida. The Las Casas-Oviedo controversy found Jackson more sympathetic to the latter, who was not quite as unbending in his attitudes toward the Indians. The work, however, seems incomplete without some type of conclusion.

The bibliography is noteworthy. Particularly impressive is the flowing, readable style of the translations. The double set of footnotes, however, seems awkward. Moreover, poor grammatical structure, repetition, weak transitions, and ineffective organization in various portions of this volume detract from clarity and pace. (BERNADINE PIETRASZEK)

JOHNSON, SAMUEL A. *The Battle Cry of Freedom.* (Lawrence, Kansas: University of Kansas Press. 1954. Pp. ix, 357. $5.00.)

*The Battle Cry of Freedom* came from a Kansas press at the moment when the state was celebrating its centennial as a territory and in a year that also noted the hundred mark of the foundation of the company whose story it tells. Dr. Johnson's story of the New England Emigrant Aid Company is based on years of scholarly and painstaking research and its documentation leads one to assume that no scrap of evidence has been left unexamined. In minute detail the author relates the factors that led to the organization of a company whose foremost, although certainly not exclusive, purpose was the launching of a crusade to block the extension of slavery. Every phase of the company's activities are described, its motivating principles are evaluated, and the reasons for its early demise are examined at length, but the exact influence of the company is not clearly enunciated. Perhaps it cannot be. Certainly, the book leaves the reader with the conviction that the Emigrant Aid Company was not a "powerful moneyed corporation whose name once convulsed the nation," nor can the reader of *Battle Cry of Freedom* see in the company the "arch-criminal responsible for all the troubles in Kansas." Yet neither does the detailed account of its actual operations lead to a definitive conclusion that the aid company was a crusading movement whose primary object was to win Kansas for the cause of freedom. Despite the intensive study which the author obviously made, he apparently finds difficulty in evaluating the exact influence of the company on the history of which it is a part. The role it played in the settlement of Kansas may not have been trivial but neither was it as decisive as the title of this book might suggest. (SISTER THOMAS AQUINAS O'CONNOR)

JONES, GEORGE HILTON. *The Main Stream of Jacobitism.* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1954. Pp. x, 275. $4.50.)

Few areas of English history have been so clouded by historical romanticism as the fate of the Jacobite claimants to the British crown. In this well-documented study Mr. Jones has avoided the usual propagandistic note. He has examined the Jacobite movement from the inside, dissecting the composition of the exile court and tracing its ever-shifting contacts with ministries whose temporary hostility to England made them likely supporters of a Jacobite restoration. Such negotiations and related correspondence with Jacobite adherents in England have been set forth with meticulous detail drawn from hitherto untapped source materials including the Stuart Papers at Windsor Castle.

While not neglecting the movement during James II's exile, the most important aspect of the work is its presentation of a new portrait of James III as a man of deep integrity steadfastly determined to rule as king of all his subjects. From the first James never deviated from his intention "to Protect, Support and Maintain the Church of England as by Law established, in all her rights, privileges and immunities whatsoever." Yet apostasy to obtain the throne was beyond consideration. "In two words, I and my wife

are Catholic and it is vain to expect a change." This is essentially a biography of James III and the grandeur of the life is its contrast to the baseness of the age. The son, Charles, is portrayed as "stubborn, uncultivated, and, on the whole very selfish. . . . His best qualities were affability and condescension." It would seem that the real tragedy was not the quick defeat of the shallow son but the lifelong frustration of the good and decent father. (EDMUND W. KEARNEY)

JUST, SISTER MARY. *Rome and Russia. A Tragedy of Errors.* (Westminster: Newman Press. 1954. Pp. xiii, 223. $3.00.)

In a text of 174 pages, Sister Mary Just presents the association of Catholicism with the "aggressive" policy of Russia's western neighbors as the principal and virtually exclusive cause for the Russian schism and the hostility of Russia toward Rome. Such an explanation is inadequate for the depth and scope of the problem, for it would be applicable to Poland, Lithuania, and Hungary which were not repelled by the Catholicism of German aggressors. A most fundamental cause, the basic prejudice of Moscow, the "Third Rome" against the Catholic West, is scarcely mentioned. Particularly surprising are some contradictions and errors of fact as, e.g., the author arguing that the separation of Russia from Rome did not take place earlier than "the beginning of the thirteenth century" (p. 15); a few pages later she states this schism did not take place before the sixteenth century and the consecration of the Metropolitan Job as Patriarch (p. 23). Equally confusing is the reference to the conquest of Galicia by Ivan III (p. 28). Here the author fails to distinguish between Polish Galicia to which she refers in other sections of her work, and to this particular conquest of Ivan III in the regions northeast of Moscow.

The superficiality of the work is further evidenced in the treatment of the Union of Brest, the motivation of which, according to the author, was the attempted escape of the Orthodox Ruthenian bishops from the control of the lay confraternities. Only one of the bishops working for the union was so affected, and it was precisely he who was the first later to reject the union. The statement "the party of schism won over the majority of the Ruthenian aristocracy and people. . . . In spite of all opposition there were soon over twelve million Ukrainian Catholics" (p. 54) is particularly objectionable. Aside from the fact that the majority of the Ukrainians were won to the union, there were not twelve million people in the entire Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in that period, to say nothing of those in the Ruthenian provinces. Especially surprising from the Catholic point of view is the apparent criticism of the Union of Brest as part of the "tragedy of errors" which has kept Russia from Rome. The Union of Brest was but the continuation and revival of that of Florence. If a union were to be made with Russia, on what other terms could it be made?

According to the author, the principal villains of the piece were the Poles who, time and time again, are pictured as obstructing the efforts of the papacy; however, no consideration is given to the legitimate causes underlying

these "obstructions," nor is any indication made of the positive efforts of the Poles for co-operation with Russia.

The lengthy bibliography (thirty-five pages) may prove of value to the reader, although the greater number of entries are from the Russian point of view, which is also true of the footnotes at the end of each chapter. The periods of the Romanovs and that of the communists are best treated and here the reader will find the most fruitful section of the survey of Russia's relations with Rome. (EUGENE KUSIELEWICZ)

KOENKER, ERNEST B. *The Liturgical Renaissance in the Roman Catholic Church.* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1954. Pp. xi, 271. $5.00.)

This volume is a sincere and sympathetic appraisal of the liturgical movement by a Lutheran minister of the Una Sancta group. Frequent criticisms that the liturgical apostolate is "preoccupied with antiquarian concerns or with aesthetic interests," he writes, "may in all honesty be discounted" (p. 196). To the "liturgical reformers" he pays this glowing tribute:

> They are accomplishing against great odds what many noble men despaired of achieving. In their various gifts of vision, scholarship, popularizing, and parish leadership, these men are second to none. . . . A vital, Christ-centered faith animates them and frees them from the accretions of many centuries" (p. 195).

But underlying all Dr. Koenker's praise and enthusiasm is this unwarranted, subtle, and unproven thesis: "The liturgical movement, if it is to be honest and sincere—and it is—is forced to come to terms not only with the values of the Reformation but with the Reformation itself" (p. 189). This is evidenced, as the author is at pains to show, by the "nearness" of the promoters of the liturgical movement "to the basic principles of the Reformation, to the Bible, Christ, the all-sufficiency of grace, the priesthood of believers, the vernacular, etc." (p. 199). In this way the liturgical apostolate presents the grounds for a *rapprochement*, and this without Protestants and Catholics changing theological positions.

It is always difficult for the non-Catholic Christian to see the Catholic Church, despite all good will and sincerity, for what it really is—a divine-human living organism, suffused and living by the Holy Spirit, continually incarnating itself into this world while bringing forth new things and old, according to the conditions of the times. Hence Dr. Koenker confuses internal, obedient, humble pleas for reform or revival with revolt; he fails to see the genuine freedom in the Church and so seems shocked by disagreements among members on non-essentials. To accept his thesis is to assert that *all* revivals in the Church are revolutions.

It does not seem to disturb the author that the liturgical movement is, after all, *in* the Church, that Luther, in rejecting the Church, rejected ultimately (by consequence, that is) what is most characteristic of the Church, viz., its liturgy, as that is guided by those who take God's place in this world. Thus "Roman totalitarianism" is presented as the great obstacle to the liturgical movement, and so also is it an obstacle to a possible

*rapprochement* between the Church and other communions. There is mention here of "the heavy hand of the American hierarchy," "old Magic sacramentalism," and "magical rites." The author imagines conflicts between genuine personal piety and liturgical piety; minimizes doctrinal differences by ignoring them; refers to the Church as "the totalitarian state," and to the pleas for more of the vernacular in the liturgy as "an issue, long identified along with the reading of the Bible as a 'characteristic of all heresies'." Finally, Dr. Koenker gives a false picture of the liturgical movement as "attacking" private devotions that have become a genuine part of Catholic life.

Well written, indexed, and organized with forty-three pages of excellent notation and nearly fifteen pages of comprehensive bibliography, this volume will be read with much interest and with no slight dismay by those promoting the liturgical movement. To uncritical readers it could give a completely distorted view of the true nature, aims, and procedures of the liturgical apostolate. (PAUL MARX)

KOSKINEN, AARNE A. *Missionary Influence as a Political Factor in the Pacific Islands.* [Annales Academiae Scientiarum Fennicae, Series B, Vol. 78.1.] (Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia. 1953. Pp. 263. 1.500 mk.)

This doctoral thesis purports to be a "cultural historical description of a pre-imperialistic phase of development in the Pacific Islands," instead of the customary political history based on documents (p. 236). Thus it offers an interpretation of published material rather than the contribution of, and on, new material. It outlines in topical order the origin of political influence of the missionaries in the Pacific; the missionary regime in its polity, legislation, and administration; the opposition and war suffered by the missionaries at the hands of aborigines and white men; and the role of the missionaries in the course of annexation of the islands by colonial powers.

The book deals mostly with Protestant missions, giving, however, some evaluation of Catholic missions, but the author is handicapped by what he terms the "shortage of Catholic material" (p. 6), and this is felt throughout the book. The recourse to Protestant sources for the purpose of documenting and evaluating Catholic activities appears to be far from satisfactory. A better knowledge and appreciation of some historical facts could have also helped Mr. Koskinen change his attitude about what he calls "Catholic aggression" (cf. especially pp. 125, 163-170), for in a number of instances the aggressors, if one wishes to call them so, were Protestants who entered territories first evangelized by Catholic missionaries. Hawaii is a case in point. The author's language is usually temperate and respectful, but there are a few expressions and appellations, such as "Romish mission" (p. 140), which suggest a bias.

Apart from stories and interpretations concerning Catholic missions, which are not sufficiently supported by critical documents and literature, this monograph presents a real contribution insofar as Protestant mission polity in the Pacific is concerned. The whole work is full of original grouping of facts and appraisals, showing the evolution of purely religious activity into social and

political factors that led to the formation of united states (p. 45), and of autonomous theocracies later desecrated by fierce colonialism and imperialism. (ANTONIO SISTO ROSSO)

LAURENT, M-H. *et al. Urbain V, 1362-1370. Lettres communes. Analysées d'après les registres dits d'Avignon et du Vatican.* Tome I, premier fascicule. *Lettres communes des papes du XIV^e siècle.* [Bibliothèque des Ecoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, 3 série, V bis.] (Paris: E. de Boccard. 1954. Pp. 112.)

The name of Urban V recalls one of the glories of the Avignon Papacy, for it was he who worked so valiantly to restore the papal residence to Rome, which he accomplished in 1367. However, in 1370 he was back in Avignon, where he died a few months later. The work of this pope forms the foundation of the Christian reform that characterizes the second half of the fourteenth century. Hence, the importance of his letters. The world of scholarship, consequently, is deeply indebted to Father Laurent and the members of the Ecole Française de Rome for undertaking the publishing of these documents.

The first fascicle of the first volume furnishes the analysis of 1,565 of the common letters of Urban V. The letters deal with the granting of plenary absolution and indulgence *in articulo mortis,* the use of the portable altar, and the conferring of various kinds of benefices. As a rule, only the analysis of the letter is given; in the more important cases the actual text is furnished. As far as possible the chronology of the letters has been established. The editors have retained the morphology and syntax of the Roman Curia. The spelling of the names of persons and places in this printed edition reproduces that of the original documents. Only when a certain error has been detected have the editors printed in brackets a spelling that seemed more preferable.

These letters form a rich source of documentation that will help to give a fuller understanding of Urban V and of the declining years of the Middle Ages. This first fascicle is a splendid beginning of an important work; it makes one look forward to the other volumes, and also to the introductory volume with its detailed account of the principles underlying the editing of these documents, corrections supplied to the editors, and the tables and indices. Research in the field of papal sources is vast, difficult, and complicated. This task is being made ever so much easier by the publications of the Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome that deal with the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. (ALFRED C. RUSH)

LEARY, JOHN P., S.J. (Ed.). *I Lift My Lamp. Jesuits in America.* (Westminster: Newman Press. 1955. Pp. xv, 383. $4.75.)

"A disquisition on the Society of Jesus," said Francis Parkman, "would be without end." But *I Lift My Lamp* affords some proof to the contrary. Here in the compass of a single volume are accounts of representative Jesuits in

America. It is not a history of the society as such, but a series of sixteen biographical sketches in which each of sixteen Jesuit authors tells the life story of a fellow-Jesuit who played a notable part in American history.

One objection suggests itself at the outset. In the words quoted from Richard Tierney, S.J., "Boasting is childish, offensive, unprofitable, easy. There is nothing easier . . . " (p. 307). But unless one were prepared to rule out all history, he must allow the facts to speak for themselves, most of all when it is a matter touching on the life of the Church. Perhaps the most regrettable feature, from an historian's viewpoint, is the failure to mention the sources for statements that have pith and worth. Thus in the light of later dogmatic developments it would be interesting to know the source for the remark that Father White suggested to the tempest-tossed travellers of the *Ark*: ". . . let us dedicate the new country beyond the seas to the Immaculate Virgin Mother. It will be her dowry, a new one to take the place of England" (p. 69). Similarly in regard to Father Kohlmann's self-defense in court, the reader feels impelled to exclaim, "Capital!" But he is also impelled to ask, "Is this a question, a paraphrase, or the writer's own rhetorical device?" Could it be a printer's mistake that this would-be lengthy citation is not properly indented? The interests of brevity occasionally affect historical perspective and thus the reader feels catapulted rather than canoed down the Mississippi with Marquette. Apart from this one feature, however, the glowing account is well done.

In the praise of great men, the easiest fault to commit is exaggeration. Perhaps the only palpable instance of this occurs in the life of Arnold Damen. The thesis that, ". . . to know Chicago all one had to do was take it apart, find its elements in a breakdown, the moving spirit of the place, the men who drove it to greatness, the *man* who towered above his fellows and showed them the way" (p. 218), is a broad one that is not convincingly demonstrated by the sequel. Granted the statement quoted from Garraghan that Holy Family Parish, "in a few years counted on the roll-call of its parishioners probably a larger number of souls than any other English-speaking parish in the United States" (p. 168). Still there were a great many non-Catholics in Chicago; furthermore, there were twelve parishes in existence prior to Holy Family and twenty-eight all told by the time of the great fire of 1871, not to mention other Catholic elements. All due praise to Father Damen (Chicago has a street named in his memory), but his greatness needs no stretching. The frank mention of human faults and failings in their heroes is to be commended in practically all the accounts, as e.g., the magnificent Father Tierney. Orestes Brownson once said in criticism of a biography about a celebrated ecclesiastic that it was a "half light," since it almost completely failed to bring in his limitations and mistakes. There is considerably more than half light in *I Lift My Lamp*. The biography of Father James Shannon definitely merited to be included with the greatest of the Jesuits' heroes past and present. Though outwardly less colorful, his life is yet truly typical of a very large part of the Society of Jesus, whose "most prominent work . . . in the United States has undoubtedly been that of higher education" [Eric McDermott, S.J., "Jesuits," *Encyclopedia Americana* (1955 edition), XVI, 39]. After the seventy-three volumes of the *Jesuit Relations*, and the trilogy of Gilbert J.

Garraghan's *Jesuits of the Middle United States* (New York, 1938), this single volume will hold a popular place in the Jesuit record of the American Church. (JOHN B. PECHULIS)

LEOPOLD, RICHARD W. *Elihu Root and the Conservative Tradition.* (Boston: Little, Brown and Co. 1954. Pp. 222. $3.00.)

Elihu Root is reputed to have been one of the ablest cabinet officers of our century. Richard W. Leopold of Northwestern University presents cogently and succinctly the evidence which supports this reputation. As Secretary of War, Root designed the governmental machinery for the newly acquired overseas possessions and carried through a thorough revamping of an outmoded military organization. As successor to John Hay, he brought to the Department of State a realistic approach to diplomacy, a view of the Senate as something more than an obstacle to an intelligent foreign policy, and an awareness of the importance of friendly relations with Latin America. Root's service in the United States Senate was characterized by the same industriousness and integrity, if not the same success, which marked his earlier activities in the executive departments.

To the study of American conservatism in general, Mr. Leopold adds little that is new. While citing Elihu Root "as the ablest, most constructive conservative in American public life since 1900," he displays small sympathy for conservatism. It would be unjust to imply that the author is hostile to Root. He is usually fair and frequently generous in his treatment, but his appraisal of Root the conservative is distinctly sharper in tone than that of Philip Jessup.

No historian has as yet convincingly demonstrated the existence of a uniquely conservative approach to foreign affairs in the first two decades of this century. Mr. Leopold makes no attempt to do so. Despite the titular emphasis on the conservative tradition, almost half the book is devoted to the relatively neutral field of foreign relations. Here, conspicuously in regard to World War I, Mr. Leopold, much more so than Jessup, is in sympathy with Root.

From the outbreak of the war Root supported the allies. Long suspicious of Germany, he believed that the kaiser was determined to dominate Europe, and that England and France were "fighting for the causes of liberty and peace and humanity." Mr. Leopold recognizes an "element of superficiality in Root's thinking" on this subject, but, employing a somewhat mysterious logic, he concludes that "after a second global conflict, one is less likely to criticize his [Root's] conclusions than the manner in which he reached them." Should it surprise Mr. Leopold, in analyzing Root's justification for American intervention, to find that the ardently pro-ally Root gave "no weight to the pressure exerted by bankers, munitions makers, or Entente propagandists"? Incidentally, Root's correspondence with Sir Gilbert Parker and Lord Bryce would suggest that the New York statesman might not be the most discerning witness on the question of entente propaganda. That Root ignored the various reasons for intervention stressed by Tansill, Peterson,

and Borchard and Lage appears to be but a weak impeachment of the findings of the revisionist historians.

Mr. Leopold sheds some new light on Root's role in the controversy concerning the Treaty of Versailles and the League Covenant. The last chapter is an interesting appraisal of Root and his place in history. Following the current practice in popularized history, the book is without footnotes. A note on the sources is appended. (FRANK GERRITY)

LOETSCHER, LEFFERTS A. *The Broadening Church.* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1954. Pp. 195. $4.75.)

In historical surveys of American Protestantism the growth of liberalism in theology is only too often passed over with a few broad generalities. This, in a sense, testifies to the completeness of liberalism's victory. It is good, then, to have a close and careful study of the clash of the liberal and conservative theologies in a major Protestant church. The author, a Presbyterian minister and a professor of church history at Princeton Theological Seminary, treats of theological developments in the northern Presbyterian Church from the reunion of the Old School and the New School in 1869 down to the schism of the conservatives and the formation of the Orthodox Presbyterian Church in the 1930's. The volume is especially valuable inasmuch as the most important and most dramatic cases of conflict occurred within the Presbyterian Church—the Briggs case at Union Theological Seminary, the Preserved Smith case, the question of Harry Emerson Fosdick, and the reorganization of Princeton Theological Seminary. Although the author's sympathies are with the liberals, he writes without *odium theologicum,* and he has produced one of the most illuminating books on American Portestant history to appear within recent years. (FRANCIS X. CURRAN)

LOPEZ, ROBERT S., and IRVING W. RAYMOND. *Medieval Trade in the Mediterranean World; Illustrative Documents Translated with Introductions and Notes.* [Records of Civilization, Sources and Studies. No. LII.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1955. Pp. xi, 458. $6.75.)

The volume contains some 200 documents in English translation, of which seventeen are hitherto unpublished; it is announced as "the first collection of documents dealing with all aspects of Mediterranean commerce in the Middle Ages." Most of these documents—some three-fourths—are Italian; at the other extreme, only four Spanish acts are included. The organization, by subject rather than chronology, is sensible and well implemented. Many of the acts are of considerable intrinsic interest; taken as a whole, they give as good a picture as could reasonably be expected.

Since almost all of these documents are taken from other books, the authors are, of course, at the mercy of previous transcribers and editors, not all of whom were noted for their accuracy and care. But the translations themselves seem generally painstaking and competent. There are some minor inconsistencies, especially where proper names are concerned. The authors decided to translate

"Latinized family names" into the "vernacular of the country of origin"—something often not easy to do. Thus Guillelmus de Oviliano becomes *Guillem de Ouveilhan* (why not d'Ouveilhan?), but Raymundus de Moissiaco appears as *Ramon of Moissac;* and Guiraudus de Pipionibus (the village of Pépieux) is transformed into *Guiraut Pigeon* (pp. 336-337).

Of interest to scholars will be the rather lengthy introductory remarks to each section, totalling some sixty pages. They—and especially their footnotes—are written in a rather technical style, with a vocabulary somewhat specialized (in some cases one might almost say "individualized"), as when the term "Commercial Revolution" is applied to the period starting with the end of the tenth century; the remark that "some scholars" reserve this designation for a later time may fairly be called an understatement (p. 50), and does not appear to be designed for the lay reader to whom, presumably, these translations are directed. So also the excellent and copious bibliographical references will be of primary interest to those who would not normally require translations of documents that are, for the most part, readily accessible in print. (RICHARD W. EMERY)

MANN, ARTHUR. *Yankee Reformers in the Urban Age.* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1954. Pp. x, 314. $5.00.)

This book, apparently a doctoral requirement, studies social reform thinking and action in the Boston area from 1880 to 1900 in the hope of showing from a "strand" something of the whole historical process. Reformist elements in the three principal religious groups, among the professors, artists, workers, and feminists are described. A concluding chapter attempts a synthetic depiction of the Bostonian reformer of the two decades which is followed by an adequate bibliography, footnotes for the chapters, and an index. After a delineation of the social setting the work becomes for the most part an analysis of the writings of the principals, and this not always accompanied by critical evaluation. For Irish Catholic liberalism the author turned to the *Pilot* of John Boyle O'Reilly and James Jeffrey Roche, and for Jewish "premature radicalism" he could find only Solomon Schindler. There was some criss-crossing as when a feminist was influenced by social gospel Protestantism, but on the whole the personalities scrutinized had only rising modern Boston in common. Frank Parsons, probably because in a class by himself as the radical professor of mutualism (his form of co-operative commonwealth), is one of the best treated personalities in the book, along with Vida Scudder, educator and feminist, who aimed at social usefulness for women.

Mr. Mann's volume is an enlightening study with a pioneering approach, but its contents are a bit more merely gathered than well mixed in makeup. The author's viewpoint—or at least angle of vision—may be seen in the few slighting allusions made to modern neo-orthodoxy, in the picture of Gompers as a "racist," in his notion of *Rerum novarum* as cutting off a Catholic radicalism by making poverty something to be accepted, and in a picture of religious social idealism as something merely on the surface or prompted by feelings of guilt. (HENRY J. BROWNE)

MAYNARD, THEODORE. *St. Benedict and His Monks.* (New York: P. J. Kenedy and Sons. 1954. Pp. xiv, 241. $3.00.)

Mr. Maynard's work on St. Benedict was written for "the average person who wants a general idea" about St. Benedict and his monks. Anyone desiring further information on the subject is referred to the bibliography at the end of the volume. Most of the material is of an historical nature. An interesting feature of his presentation are his personal comments about various phases of Benedictine life and practice, observations he is in a position to make, being as he is a lay oblate of St. Benedict. The first three chapters of the book present a biography of St. Benedict. These are followed by chapters on monasticism before Benedict, the rule, monastic prayer, the vows, the abbot, life in a monastery, monastic missions, a sketch of Benedictine history, divergencies, i.e., Cluny and Citeaux, scholarship, growth since the French Revolution, and spirituality.

The author disarms the would-be critic by plainly stating "that neither in this historical or in any of the other chapters of the book is pretense made of giving information that is other than fragmentary" (p. 152). Each reader will have to decide for himself as to whether he has succeeded in the aims set forth in the preface. This reviewer feels that he has made a distinctive contribution, one that can take its place alongside the recent books of T. F. Lindsay, a brother oblate, on *St. Benedict* and *The Holy Rule for Laymen.* He would like to discuss some of his generalizations, but lack of space forces him to limit himself to the following statements concerning apparent inaccuracies. The Ostrogothic King Theodoric never was an emperor; St. Boniface did not convert the Saxons, neither was he martyred at Fulda; Dom Gregory Tarisse was not an abbot; the Maurists succeeded in editing only some of the fathers; most of the French monks did not accept the Civil Constitution of the Clergy; monastic reconstruction in the Catholic parts of Germany dates back to the reopening of the Abbey of Metten in 1830, not to the foundation of Beuron in 1863; and St. Benedict of Aniane did not achieve pre-eminence in monasticism in the Carolingian Empire until the accession of Charlemagne's son Louis. There is also another Benedictine abbey in Canada, that of Westminster at Vancouver in British Columbia, a member of the Swiss-American Congregation. Father Peter Henry Lemcke's autobiography came to light with the bombing of the Abbey of St. Bonifaz in Munich and is now in its archives. (VICTOR GELLHAUS)

MCANDREWS, DUNSTAN, O.S.B. *Father Joseph Kundek: 1810-1857.* (St. Meinrad, Indiana: Grail Publication. 1954. Pp. 74. 50¢.)

A great deal of careful research has gone into the preparation of this brief biography of Father Joseph Kundek, nineteenth-century Croatian missionary to southern Indiana. The author, the Reverend Dunstan McAndrews, O.S.B., has utilized a wealth of archival and published primary material, including data obtained from Yugoslavian sources on the early life of Kundek in Europe.

With care and full attention to details, he reveals the life story of this dynamic priest who became missionary, colonizer, civic and ecclesiastical leader among the German immigrants in the southern part of Indiana from 1838 to 1857. Unique among the numerous activities of Father Kundek was his colonization project. Conceived as a plan to prevent leakage from the faith among the German-speaking immigrants, the project eventually included the founding of three towns for German settlers. The normally more conventional, routine work of Kundek was marked by the stress and strain of a rapidly growing immigrant church with its attendant problems such as national rivalries, trusteeism, material expansion, and pastoral and teaching personnel. Though Father McAndrews could have integrated Kundek's career more closely with the then current secular developments, he has, however, touched on the spirit of the times and has set forth the history of the nineteenth-century Church at its grass roots. (SISTER MARY CAROL SCHROEDER)

MCNEILL, WILLIAM H. *Past and Future.* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1954. Pp. 217. $3.75.)

This small volume will come to many as a big surprise, for it handles a most ambitious assignment adequately, and certainly provides enough stimulation to make the reader think in long terms about the past and future of mankind. The author's analysis of the past, based on his interpretation of history "in terms of the successive manners in which men of alien cultures came into contact with one another," is a masterpiece of condensation. In such résumés an over-abundance of generalizations seems unavoidable, but well chosen examples add color and vigor to the rational consideration of past actuality. Of utmost importance is the central portion of the little book, with its penetrating diagnosis of the chief trends and problems of our age. Good judgment and a highly developed sense of proportion account for the fine result: a good over-all picture of an extremely complex situation and many threatening political, cultural, and economic antagonisms. We agree with the author when he deplores "the moral and religious uncertainty of our age," or points out the connection between the decay of religion and the sharpening of social conflicts (p. 110).

In the last and weightiest part, the probabilities of future developments are under discussion. Here the author cautiously and subtly considers some possible solutions to the present crisis. The major drawback of any attempt to look ahead and to investigate certain aspects of the future would be a proneness to indulge in speculations. But this pitfall has been carefully avoided. Nowhere does the author narrow the outlook, and nowhere does he underestimate the wealth of potentialities.

Once more the old problem (and temptation): can the historian set up guideposts for the future? has been given an instructive treatment. McNeill's valuable analysis will be read with much profit. Maybe many a reader will arrive at a fuller realization of St. Paul's wise dictum: we know in part and prophesy in part. (HANS W. L. FREUDENTHAL)

McSweeney, Thomas Denis. *Cathedral on California Street.* (Fresno: Academy of California Church History. 1952. Pp. xi, 95. $3.00.)

This little volume is a brief history of San Francisco's first cathedral. Built in the early 1850's, St. Mary's demonstrated the devotion of Catholic pioneers and has remained an indestructible witness to the growth of the city and the West. In the early years the ceremonies, lectures, and parish societies made the cathedral a center of culture. As early as 1855 the cathedral school was educating over 300 children. But population growth and prosperity booms brought the evils of prostitution and the filth of tenements to its very doors. Then came the earthquake and fire of 1906, consuming in one vast holocaust the abomination of the neighborhood. In the midst of desolation, however, the walls of St. Mary's stood firm. Already shorn of its cathedral dignity, the parish church was rebuilt. Since then under the zealous and generous administration of the Paulist Fathers St. Mary's has expanded its facilities and multiplied its good works among men.

Thomas Denis McSweeney has drawn largely from the files of Catholic and secular newspapers to tell his story. Too often he has been content to quote directly and at length from them. Sometimes this is effective, but generally these long quotations are not as forceful as the author's own descriptive narrative (e.g., pp. 42-44). Furthermore, there is too incomplete reference to the local history of the city and almost none to the national scene. Nonetheless, although this research is limited in scope its publication is a contribution to the history of the Catholic Church in the Far West. (Joseph L. Powers)

Misiak, Henryk and Virginia M. Staudt. *Catholics in Psychology: A Historical Survey.* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co. 1954. Pp. xv, 309. $5.00.)

The contribution of Catholics to scholarship, and more especially to science, in the twentieth century is frequently criticized. But it is probably in the behavioral sciences that the relatively meagre contribution is most notable. Some of this criticism is the result of lack of information, as this book shows, but the authors' careful estimate of the advancement of psychology through the efforts of Catholic scholars also illustrates how few such scholars have been. The intellectual climate and other factors which brought this about are carefully examined. In Italy scientific psychology was, in the persons of its founders, tied up with an extreme positivism and, therefore, unacceptable; in Germany the abandonment of their native faith by four well known psychologists—Brentano, Stumpf, Messer, and Marbe—served to make the new approaches suspect. That there is no fundamental conflict between scientific psychology and Catholic faith, however, is ably documented in this work, not only by the recital of the sound and scholarly productivity of distinguished Catholics, but also by the discussion of the basic areas of possible conflict and their present resolution. Separate chapters are given to such men as Mercier, Pace, Fröbes, Michotte, Lindworsky, Gemelli, Wasmann, Peillaube, Twardowski, Moore, and Sister Marie Hilda—some to illustrate the ways

in which psychological or biological and philosophical issues were treated, and some to illustrate the beginnings of scientific psychology in various countries. The contributions of schools, institutes, and journals are also reviewed. Certainly among the academically respectable departments of the Catholic college, psychology is a relative newcomer. It should turn out to be a vigorous discipline in Catholic colleges, however, and nowadays there is scarcely a well informed Catholic university administrator who does not feel that, of all branches of science, psychology is one of most pertinence and concern. That there is a Catholic psychology, any more than there is a Catholic chemistry, is denied—except, of course, as rational psychology is a branch of scholastic philosophy. Being a Catholic, however, should make more difference in psychology than it does in chemistry. (WALTER L. WILKINS)

*Mission Abroad, 1861-1862: A Selection of Letters from Archbishop Hughes, Bishop McIlvaine, W. H. Seward, and Thurlow Weed.* (Rochester: University of Rochester Press. 1954. 17 cards. $4.25.)

This microcard publication is an experiment issued by the Micropublication Service of the University of Rochester Press. The 616 pages are on seventeen cards of library catalogue style and, of course, require a special reading machine for their perusal. The experimental aspects consist in the fact that the microtext includes pictures of the original letters followed by typescripts of them. Most microcard publication has been of multi-volume reference works that were scarce in the original printed editions. The Rochester agency was set up in 1953 by a special grant which limits its publications to opaque microtext. Its chief interest is in answering the problem of the expense of publication of historical manuscripts in book form by this technique.

The group of letters under consideration are a contribution just by being made available—in any form. Besides illuminating the personages involved—the Seward and Weed Papers, the chief sources, are at the University of Rochester—they cast light on the footnote in American diplomatic history which was the unofficial diplomatic mission of the two clergymen and Weed to Europe during the Civil War. Hughes' letters are the fullest and most informative, but much of their contents—in truncated form—was used in Hassard's biography.

As far as the experiment as such goes, this reviewer is not impressed, except by the low cost. Once over the intrigue of the handwriting of the principals (and there is none when the originals themselves have been seen) one reads the typed copies. Why then reproduce the originals if careful redaction is once assured? If, on the other hand, such a publication of documents would follow the pattern of microfilm editions there would be no photographing of typed copies but only of the originals. As it stands the selection seems to be limited to standard sized documents and to preclude larger or legal sized items. This new device apparently calls for no editorial responsibility for a scholarly introduction or any explanations of allusions within the documents. (HENRY J. BROWNE)

MOUSEL, SISTER MARY EUNICE, O.S.F. *They Have Taken Root.* (New York: Bookman Associates. 1954. Pp. xix, 384. $5.00.)

Sister Mary Eunice's book is the third attempt to write a history of the Sisters of the Third Order of St. Francis of the Holy Family, an order which has its motherhouse in Dubuque, Iowa. The avowed purpose of the book is to re-evaluate the history of the Dubuque Franciscans in terms of eternal values.

In undertaking such an ambitious task the author attempts too much. Competence in the fields of theology and history would seem to be necessary for evaluating a religious order's history in terms of eternal values. A discussion of the author's theological competence is, of course, outside the scope of this review. Judged as history, the book is disappointing. It may be granted that the author's research was painstakingly thorough, but careful research is only part of the work involved in writing history. In the important task of interpreting and drawing worthwhile conclusions the author shows questionable judgment. The introduction reveals (p. xviii) that Sister Eunice confuses conjecture with reasoned inference, and the whole book demonstrates the persistence of this confusion. Much of the interpretation is conjectural and, therefore, of slight value. Several of the author's conclusions are not warranted by the evidence offered to support them. Several other conclusions, arrived at by reasoning from documents, are banal and practically self-evident, e.g., a document is solemnly cited to prove that Mother Xavier, foundress of the Dubuque Franciscans, "dearly loved a feast day."

From the viewpoint of sound historiography, the author's uncritical glorification of Mother Xavier is quite unacceptable. The same can be said of the open bias displayed by the author in treating of disputes between clergy and convent. Endless digressions on ascetical theology, philosophy, and education add nothing of worth to the narrative. Perhaps the book achieves the goal intended by the author, but it can hardly be considered a serious contribution to historical literature. (A. J. BIRMINGHAM)

MUNDY, JOHN HINE. *Liberty and Political Power in Toulouse, 1050-1230.* (New York: Columbia University Press. 1954. Pp. xiii, 402. $6.50.)

Anomalistic as it may sound, this is a social history of the political metamorphosis of Toulouse. A thorough examination of archival and printed sources has yielded a wealth of information on the offices of this French city. Only a mediaevalist could appreciate the magnitude of the task of delineating with any degree of accuracy and clarity the competency and interrelationship of local officials at a given time. It is the merit of the author and the gauge of his accomplishment that he has defined so clearly the meaning and scope of so many terms of municipal administration.

The authority of the count in the mid-eleventh century is taken as the point of departure. Thence through the rise and blossoming of the consulate Dr. Mundy describes the origin and decline of the vicar, the emergence of

notaries, the authority to legislate, and the jurisdiction and procedure of the courts. The epoch under discussion is divided into four periods so that one is able to trace the development of these institutions through almost 200 years. The ability to discern the pattern of an emerging political configuration from seemingly unrelated changes of social, political, and economic everyday life demands something more than mere hindsight. Such a talent encompasses a rare capacity for grasping the significance of various factors that influence the formation of new institutions. What is especially noteworthy about this doctoral dissertation is the voluminous documentation from contemporary sources. More than half of the book is devoted to vicarial and consular lists, published documents, manuscript sources, and notes to the text and appendices. A satisfactory bibliography and index, together with three historical maps, complete this splendid monograph.

When so much has been accomplished, it is not surprising to discover blemishes on the escutcheon. There is discernible a Coultonian overtone in Dr. Mundy's approach to things ecclesiastical. For him the Church is to all intents and purposes indistinguishable from a vested interest; reform smacks heavily of the political and economic. Perhaps this attitude is responsible for his stricture on the injustice of an episcopal court toward the Jews (pp. 9, 139). The author is at pains to quote at length from this "interesting" case. Inequity there may have been—but the citation quoted does not substantiate the charge (p. 347, n. 13). Again, the choice of words is not always felicitous; flippancy invites animadversion. (ALBERT C. SHANNON)

MURRAY, A. R. M. *An Introduction to Political Philosophy.* (New York: Philosophical Library. 1953. Pp. vii, 240. $4.75.)

This compact little book is a compact declaration of intellectual bankruptcy. The receivers are the members of the *Politburo.* Mr. Murray, who lectures in social philosophy at the University of London, tells us in the opening pages that democratic liberties are based on the following presuppositions: that ". . . neither the principles of natural science nor the laws of morality have any universal necessity, and . . . practical thinking is of an essentially irrational character. . . . On this view (reason) can never establish the truth of a belief; . . . while in the sphere of conduct it . . . can only devise the most effective means of attaining ends determined by the irrational passions" (pp. 8-9). The reader is, therefore, not surprised to find the following names on the honor roll of democracy: Machiavelli, Hobbes, Hume, and Marx. Mr. Murray evidently would accept Marx' evaluation of himself as the final heir of the democratic tradition.

In the presuppositions mentioned, Mr. Murray has only given us the fundamental tenets of liberal philosophy, which for decades now have been offered as the philosophical defense of democracy. It is this philosophy that has given us equally Dewey and Marx and, lately with a beautiful vengeance indeed, Joseph McCarthy, Mrs. Natvig, Mr. Matusow. They are all of the same

vintage—all equally exponents of the philosophy espoused by Mr. Murray. This is "the distinguished tradition" that Mr. Murray defends, " a tradition which has acquired a new importance in the present century with the development of logical doctrines which claim to prove that moral experience cannot, from its very nature, provide rational directives for human conduct." It is these logical doctrines that have brought us to our present distinguished conceptions of guilt by association and accusation by innuendo. The impasse, within our own democratic processes, created by the new role of "double-talk" is the legitimate child of the logical positivists—the real fathers of "double-think." The Matusows, the Natvigs, the McCarthys, and the Cohens are only a step ahead of the Deweys, the Murrays, the Lasswells, and the T. V. Smiths; and they are a richly deserved reward for the many years in which our liberal intellectuals have espoused their stupidities and conceits.

In this fashion, but in no other, is this little book worth discussing. The history of political thought is, indeed, in need of the most serious re-study. But this requires today a capacity to look anew at most elemental and simple truths. They are extremely difficult. And with such matters this book has nothing to do. (CHARLES N. R. MCCOY)

NICHOLSON, ROBERT LAWRENCE. *Joscelyn I, Prince of Edessa.* [Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences: Volume XXXIV, No. 4.] (Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 1954. Pp. ix, 108. $3.50, cloth; $2.50, paper.)

Joscelyn of Courtenay, born of a feudal family of the Île de France, lived to become one of the leading figures in the Latin Orient during the first three decades of the twelfth century. A participant in the crusade of 1101, he remained in the East and was given a fief in the principality of Edessa by his cousin, Baldwin of Bourg. Sometime later he was Lord of Tiberias and Galilee and finally Prince of Edessa from 1119 until his death in 1131. He was also active in the affairs of Jerusalem and Antioch. Joscelyn was a man of prodigious energy, a warrior from first to last, and so impressed contemporary chroniclers. It is in this guise that Mr. Nicholson, his biographer, presents him. His study, therefore, is largely an account of military campaigns which include the formidable Moslem attacks under Maudūd of Mosul and the early years of Zangī. Critical though these years were in the life of the infant crusaders' states, they were not without internecine quarrels between the crusaders themselves. Although some of these, as Professor Nicholson points out, had bearing on the constitutional development of the Latin states, they were damaging to Christian security and in later years were to have disastrous consequences. And yet, despite the silence of the chroniclers, the gradual building of the Latin states becomes evident in accomplishments of men like Joscelyn and his contemporaries. Since Edessa has not hitherto received sufficient attention, this biography of Joscelyn is particularly welcome.

The work has been prepared with meticulous care. There is an extensive bibliography, appendix, and a detailed topical index. Harold Fink's article,

"Mawdūd I, Precursor of Saladin," *The Muslim World*, XLIII (1953), 18-27, evidently appeared too late for inclusion in the bibliography. For the ninety-four pages of text there are nearly 450 footnotes, many of considerable length and containing extensive quotations from primary sources and secondary materials. The whole does not provide easy reading, and a somewhat greater emphasis on the geographical, institutional, and cultural aspects of the Latin Orient in general and Edessa in particular would have given the biography a better balance. But the author has not attempted a popular study; rather he has sought to provide scholars with a definitive account of a significant military and political career. In this he has succeeded. (MARSHALL W. BALDWIN)

NIEBUHR, REINHOLD. *The Self and the Dramas of History*. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1955. Pp. ix, 246. $3.75.)

This most recent of Dr. Niebuhr's many works is divided into three parts. The first deals with the dialogues of the self with itself, with others, and with God; the third section considers the efforts of the individual to build national and world communities. Neither can be said to treat history, its philosophy or theology. The second part, however, is an evaluation and comparison of what Niebuhr considers to be the two basic components of western culture, the Hebraic and Hellenic. Only here, where the author interprets these two theologies or philosophies of life, already so emphasized by St. Paul, does he approach the meaning of history. And here, unfortunately, Niebuhr's thesis is vitiated by several underlying assumptions, common to liberal Protestant theologians. He identifies the *logos* of St. John with Philo's, so that "this encounter between 'natural' and 'revealed' theology [provided] the pattern for the creative tension between structural and dramatic ways of apprehending historic reality which have persisted throughout the history of Western civilization" (p. 95). Even more fundamental is his relegating the fall of man to the realm of "Biblical myth" (p. 99). The mediaeval synthesis achieved especially by St. Thomas had as its serious weakness, according to Niebuhr, the "incorporation of classical ontology . . . in the field of ethics where the Biblical idea of love as the final norm of life was added as an extra 'theological virtue' " (p. 101). Finally, the "establishment of papal supremacy was not possible without violating one of the cardinal tenets of Biblical faith which asserted that 'in God's sight is no man living justified' " (p. 103). The treatment, particularly of the Middle Ages, based on these and other equally objectionable foundations, leaves much to be desired. Grace was scarcely "magic" (p. 102); Marsilius of Padua was hardly a "pious Catholic" who "sought desperately to rescue Catholic universalism" (p. 104).

*The Self and the Dramas of History* cannot seriously claim a place among important books on the philosophy or theology of history. Rather, it is a

sectarian treatment of an oft-told theme, but dressed in the vocabulary of the modern, liberal psychologist-theologian. (D. F. SHEA)

NOTESTEIN, WALLACE. *The English People on the Eve of Colonization, 1603-1630.* (New York: Harper & Bros. 1954. Pp. xvii, 302. $5.00.)

Reviewers of the volumes to appear first in the New American Nation Series have set a proper pattern by comparing them with companions in the old series. Readers know the old volumes; the reviewer can better describe the new volume because he and his readers have a common reference. Secondly, differences between the old and new suggest changes in historical writing that have occurred during the past fifty years.

Cheyney, in his *European Background of American History* (New York, 1907), undertook a larger task than did Notestein, and covered a span of years ten times longer. Only one third of Cheyney's book dealt specifically with England. The most striking difference between the two volumes is the manner of treatment. Cheyney was concerned with institutions, Notestein is interested in people. Even when discussing institutions, Notestein personalizes them. The king is a human being. Parliament is composed of individuals who are also considered collectively by professions or social classes. Sheriffs, justices of the peace, constables, and churchwardens face, in their respective lines of duty, multitudes of variegated human problems. Falling into two parts, one composed of fourteen chapters on classes of society and professions, including education and religion, the second comprising seven chapters on government and colonization, the book fulfills the promise of its title.

The people it describes either came to the new world or begot the later emigrants. Notestein wants his readers to remember this, and often alludes to life in America when pointing out similarities to or deviations from the English background. He writes gracefully, simply, sympathetically, and with understanding. His information comes from well known sources indicated in the bibliography, and unusual sources such as epitaphs or minor literary works which are mentioned in the footnotes. Apt allusions that are not at all self-conscious demonstrate mastery of the period. Notestein's generalizations are convincing. Concerning the intimacy between Englishmen and the land, the portraits dating from the period show us people "who had a country look to them." From Notestein this is acceptable. If one has to mention what he does not like in such a charming book, he may say that the chapters run along so much in topical fashion that organic synthesis is not fully achieved. He might also suggest that Notestein occasionally veers toward sentimentality. Yet that is not precisely the word I want; I prefer the one Notestein uses when asserting that the patriotism of the English people was "more than pride" and "slipped easily into affection." (CARL B. CONE)

OWINGS, DONNELL MACCLURE. *His Lordship's Patronage: Offices of Profit in Colonial Maryland* [Studies in Maryland History. No. 1]. (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society. 1953. Pp. xii, 214. $6.00.)

This book is intended as the first volume of a new series of studies to be issued at irregular intervals by the Maryland Historical Society. It is an examination of the many and varied pre-Revolution offices in Maryland which, because of what they paid, were "worth a gentleman's acceptance." The first half of the work traces the creation, development, division, suppression, and salaries (generally in tobacco) of these positions, many of which were mainly sinecures, through the two nearly equal periods of proprietary rule and the quarter century of royal control that separated them. The second half makes a listing of the holders of these colonial offices, intended as a supplement to Henry Hollyday Goldsborough's Maryland Historical Society manuscript, "List of Civil Officers of Maryland," which concerns itself chiefly with the non-lucrative positions, those which paid merely "a *per diem* allowance for time in public office." With each officeholder there is an indication of his term of office, his county of residence, his religion (for this was important in the see-saw battle between Maryland Catholics and Protestants), and other pertinent facts. A good bibliography and index complete the volume.

The reader should not seek in this work for pleasant items of colonial human interest. Rather, here is an austere gathering-place for scattered and not easily available material for the student of the Maryland colony. But the information does show this, that the system of multiplied offices was not completely bad, expensive though it may have been for the people. It at least gave to the resulting aristocracy fine homes, libraries, education for their children, political experience and leadership, and somewhat of a culture. And it meant that thus "they could handily civilize what had been a wilderness." (JOHN W. BOWEN)

PADOVER, SAUL K. (Ed.). *The Washington Papers. Basic Selections from the Public and Private Writings of George Washington.* (New York: Harper and Bros. 1955. Pp. 430. $5.00.)

The intent behind this venture of Professor Padover, known for his creditable editing of the works of Jefferson and Madison, was to produce a one-volume treasury of Washington and, by rescuing him from the kind of prose which for more than a century and a half has made him a target of "assiduous idolatry, hagiography, iconolatry, myth-making, and breathless patriotic oratory" (p. 1), to show the genuine Washington in all his fullness and many-sidedness. Few will deny that the errant nonsense of such biographers as Mason Locke Weems stands in need of a strong corrective. And certainly no better one can be imagined than the testimony of a sourcebook of Washington's own writings in the form of letters, both public and private, extracts from his diaries, together with his major speeches, addresses, and pronouncements, all

of which reflect clearly the vigor and stature of the man, the general, and the statesman.

Part I of this volume, entitled "Personal," includes scattered diary entries covering the years from 1748 to December 13, 1799, the eve of Washington's death, portions of his personal correspondence, and the complete text of his last will in which provision is made for the manumission of his slaves. Part II comprises the major division of the book, and under the heading "Political" contains many of Washington's communiqués to the Continental Congress apprising them of the distressed situation of his destitute and ever-diminishing army, his inaugural addresses, annual messages to Congress, and the celebrated Farewell Address of 1796 (incorrectly dated "1776" p. 308). Part III, a brief section designated "Maxims," is a meaningless medley of Washington's maxims, mottos, and brief opinions which the editor has vainly attempted to classify and arrange under alphabetical headings.

However, one may deplore the less-than-first-rate editorial work in this volume, one is forced to admit that the contents triumph over the arrangement. In compact form, readers who are denied access to the more ample editions of Worthington Ford and John C. Fitzpatrick will find a wealth of valuable documentary material on a great man whose place in American history will ever be an honored one. (MOTHER MARY PETER CARTHY)

PIEPER, JOSEF. *The End of Time.* Translated by Michael Bullock. (New York: Pantheon Books, Inc. 1954. Pp. 157. $2.75.)

This translation of Josef Pieper's *Über das Ende der Zeit* brings to the English-speaking public another provocative series of essays by one of Germany's best-known lay Thomists, now a professor in the University of Münster. In writing what he calls "a meditation on the philosophy of history," Mr. Pieper contemplates the eschatological question of the significance of the historical process and the destiny of man. To those who feel like Collingwood that "eschatology is always an intrusive element in history," and that the questions raised can only be satisfactorily approached by philosophy and theology, this presentation will no doubt be considered unsatisfactory. To those who feel like this reviewer that historical appraisal involves previously assumed or adopted philosophical positions, particularly in the realm of epistemology, this presentation will be considered incomplete. But most readers will agree that in some brilliant observations, the like of which prompted T. S. Eliot to say that Mr. Pieper had brought insight and wisdom back to philosophy, the author has explored the relationships of theology, philosophy, and history in a most interesting manner.

Mr. Pieper is quite obviously concerned with more than the "empirically apprehensible element of historical reality," and believes that neither the historian nor the philosopher can deal adequately with the *eschaton.* Although he does not trace the theory of inevitable progress to the figures like Condorcet who are customarily associated with the movement, the author has a splendid

section on Kant's idea of progress, followed by a less impressive section on the figure of the anti-Christ. Mr. Pieper is among those who confines "philosophy of history" to an inevitably theological context. (ROBERT PAUL MOHAN)

PITMAN, BENN. *The Assassination of President Lincoln and the Trial of the Conspirators.* (New York: Funk and Wagnalls. 1954. Pp. xxiv, 422. $7.50.)

This is an unusual book in that it is a facsimile edition, reproduced photographically. Benn Pitman was the official reporter during the trial and he compiled and arranged the material. The book contains a table of contents, wherein the testimony is listed by subjects and also as it applied to each defendant. There is an index of the witnesses, also maps and diagrams. The testimony of witnesses is not in question and answer form, but in the narrative as arranged by Pitman. The various orders, authorizing the commission, and opinions regarding its jurisdiction and arguments of counsel, are set forth in full. There is a twenty-page introduction by Philip Van Doren Stern, an outstanding authority on the trial, which gives considerable background to the book, and, by his critical analysis, gives added interest to the testimony. The print is rather small, but serious students of this subject will find this difficulty more than compensated for by their reading of the living words of the witnesses spoken in the original setting.

From the standpoint of convenience and interest, this is without doubt the most practical work of this nature on the subject. In order to understand the hysteria and temper of the times, no summary or account of the trial will substitute for a reading of the testimony.

History is a record of events without hysteria and, to determine the part that hysteria played in this trial, it is necessary to read the record. People who take democracy for granted will benefit from a better understanding of those events. With few exceptions, democracy was then closer to failure than at any time in our history. At least to say that democracy failed as far as Mary Surratt was concerned, is an understatement wtihout equal. (THOMAS B. DUNN)

RAYMOND, M. O.C.S.O. *The Less Traveled Road. A Memoir of Dom Mary Frederic Dunne, O.C.S.O. First American Trappist Abbot.* (Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co. 1953. Pp. viii, 250. $3.50.)

"Gethsemani" and "Trappist" are words not unfamiliar in American households today. Little less known, however, is the name of Dom Mary Frederic Dunne, the first American Trappist abbot, the man who made Gethsemani and Trappist practically synonymous. To those who had the privilege of meeting this man even briefly, Father Raymond's memoir will, perhaps, recapture a yesterday never really forgotten. To the less privileged, *The Less*

*Traveled Road* will serve well as an introduction to the life of a man that was truly inspirational.

Memoirs, nevertheless, fall within the same historical genre as biography and must be evaluated in that light. While the personal equation is undoubtedly present in this type of narrative, Father Raymond has attained a certain objectivity by a judicious use of letters, personal recollections, and other memoranda of the man who sired him in the Cistercian life. Unfortunately, some minor errors have crept into the manuscript. For example it was the sixteenth and not the seventeenth century that witnessed the violent persecution of the Catholics in Ireland by Henry and Elizabeth (p. 18). The American Protective Association, commonly known as the A. P. A., was organized at Clinton, Iowa, in 1887. To speak of the revival of religious bigotry in the Territory of Arizona in 1875 as a facet of the A. P. A. movement is, therefore, inaccurate (p. 33). Of minor consequence, too, it was John Moore, Bishop of St. Augustine, not "More" (p. 58), and Thomas S. Byrne, Bishop of Nashville, not "Byrnes" (pp. 125, 126).

Father Raymond has performed yeoman service for the future biographer of the American boy who chose the less traveled road and overtook Christ in an empty Pullman car as it stood idle outside Knoxville, Tennessee. The book is excellent for light spiritual reading, though one may wonder if the peace and tranquility, that Father Raymond avers was lost during the Protestant Revolt (p. 207), was rather not a consequence of the fall in the garden of paradise. Finally, this labor of love would have been greatly enhanced with the addition of an index, at least of personal names. (DAVID F. SWEENEY)

RICCIOTTI, GIUSEPPE. *Paul The Apostle.* (Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co. 1953. Pp. xi, 540. $7.50.)

Father Ricciotti's trilogy of biblical history (*Storia d'Israele,* which has now appeared in English, and *The Life of Christ*) was completed in 1946 with the publication of this volume. The English translation by Alba Zizzamia reads well and constitutes a worthy contribution to the growing list of biblical works in the English language. The same method that characterizes the other books of Ricciotti is followed in the case of St. Paul. Almost two-fifths of the volume is devoted to background: geographical, cultural, and religious. The customary introductory questions of chronology, the health and appearance of St. Paul, and the sources for his biography are treated in this section. The biography proper follows the traditional chronology of Paul's life (cf. Renié, *Manuel d'Écriture Sainte* [1947], V, 62-69), and the reader has the benefit of seeing the *Sitz im Leben* of Paul's epistles, which receive necessarily short summaries in the course of the biography. Over 100 illustrations enhance the spirited story of Paul's adventurous life.

There is a curious misprint, "Omayadt," in the map on page 220. On page 3 a footnote refers to a map in the back of the book, which was present in the Italian original (third edition, 1949), but unfortunately is

missing from the translation. While the average reader will derive considerable profit from this work, many will be left cold by the author's preoccupation with the now thoroughly defunct Tübingen school and other equally outdated rationalist theories. More space might have been given to recent views on the period of St. Paul; this omission can be supplied by Dupont's *Livre des Actes d'après les travaux récents* (Louvain, 1950). In general, the bibliography represented in the notes is largely drawn from the period before World War II. (ROLAND E. MURPHY)

RICHMOND, ADMIRAL SIR HERBERT. *The Navy as an Instrument of Policy, 1500-1727*. Edited by E. A. Hughes. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1953. Pp. 404. $12.00.)

The late Admiral Richmond completed this work shortly before his death. He defined his object in these words:

> my intended history traces the use made by statesmen of the Navy as an instrument of war from Elizabeth to the end of the Northern War of 1727... explaining the main strategy of the war—not minor strategy, not tactics, no detailed descriptions of campaigns, but outlines of what ministers intended and how their intentions were translated in terms of action.

Admiral Richmond was well equipped for this task by his seagoing practical experience and by his service as commandant of the British Naval War College and first commandant of the Imperial Defense College. After his retirement from the navy he was Vere Harmsworth professor of imperial and naval history, and Master of Downing College, Cambridge. He shows that the British government in Queen Elizabeth's time had a very imperfect knowledge of the possibilities of seapower. He demonstrates that the British statesmen were slow to realize how their navy could be employed to the best advantage. He writes convincingly, and shows that Britain has faced the same problems over and over again. In brief: it is excellent history. (JOHN B. HEFFERNAN)

RITCHESON, CHARLES R. *British Politics and the American Revolution*. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1954. Pp. xv, 320. $4.00.)

Objectivity in history can hardly be challenged as a desirable end, and any attempt to help others to arrive at calm and unbiased conclusions is praiseworthy. Consequently, Professor Ritcheson's efforts in this direction are apt to be highly commended. This study of the reactions of the political leaders of Great Britain to the problems created by a vastly expanded empire during the two critical decades, 1763 to 1783, carries on the work started by Sir Lewis B. Namier, and permits the student of the American Revolution to investigate first-hand reports which delineate the various endeavors on the part of British statesmen to solve the imperial questions of their time.

Indeed, the task of organizing and administering an empire, insofar as that task was involved with the relationship of Britain to her American colonies, furnishes the central theme of this study. However, other questions are not overlooked, and it may take adjustment on the part of some students of the history of the United States to follow the author's unravelling of his theme, because he rightly studies the imperial question as one facet of the struggle for political leadership in the Britain of George III.

One of the results of the internal struggle for political control was an almost constant evolution of the ideas of imperial policy, an evolution conditioned both by the reactions of the colonials to the various programs devised for the administration of the colonies and the struggles within the various political groups in Britain. Professor Ritcheson traces this evolution as it unfolded from the time of Grenville, who advanced the idea of a supreme center with subordinate parts, down to the time of the fateful Carlisle Peace Commission, which proposed an idea surprisingly like the one worked out in the nineteenth century culminating in the recognition of colonies as dominions.

Since the author has undertaken the difficult task of following the intricate struggles for political leadership while developing his main theme, which is the necessity incumbent upon British statesmen of formulating a workable colonial policy, he runs the risk at times of creating a certain amount of confusion. For example, on page 14 we find that, as one crisis developed, Egremont died, yet on page 18 the same Egremont was asked to write a letter to the colonial governors. The reader who puts a premium on clarity of expression and a smooth flowing style will find that the author follows a pattern of composition that at times gives one the impression of being a bit shaken up. Nevertheless, this study is a worthwhile contribution in the direction of giving the students a better understanding of the other side of the picture and it should help to develop a desirable objectivity in the understanding of the American Revolution. (HAROLD L. STANSELL)

ROCHE, ALOYSIUS. *In the Track of the Gospel.* (New York: P. J. Kenedy and Sons. 1954. Pp. xi, 200. $3.00.)

Father Roche has taken upon himself the tremendous task of describing, in less than 200 pages, and in a manner suitable to the layman, the history of the Catholic Church's mission endeavor. Such a work has long been needed, and *In the Track of the Gospel* fills the need very well. Within the limits imposed by the size of the book, and by his own purpose, the author has achieved admirable results. He writes well, and presents his subject in a manner which should prove interesting to any reader. The book is to be recommended especially to study clubs and to discussion groups as a basic text for mission study.

There are three criticisms which might be advanced. In his discussion of the early Christian missionary effort, and even in his treatment of later apostles, such as St. Francis Xavier, the author fails to distinguish clearly

between known fact and legend. Again, the decision to treat modern missionary work from the viewpoint of the sending countries or agencies has made that part of the text somewhat confusing and difficult to follow. Finally, there is lacking a bibliography of standard works on mission history which might be of interest to the reader. (FRANCIS L. RYAN)

RUSSELL, WILLIAM HOWARD. *My Diary, North and South.* Edited and Introduced by Fletcher Pratt. (New York: Harper and Bros. 1954. Pp. xiii, 268. $4.00.)

William Howard Russell's reputation for reporting in the Crimean War was established when he was assigned to the United States early in 1861 by the *Times* of London to report on affairs so fraught with potential news. There resulted a unique and important source for the historian of the Civil War. Russell witnessed and reported events during the period that immediately preceded and followed the outbreak of fighting; indecision was seen to lead to brashness with the beginning of hostilities and brashness finally led to the realities of hard and bitter civil conflict. Russell was able to travel through North and South and he met ranking officials both for and against union. The report on the disaster of Bull Run was too exact for some, so Russell's work ended a year after his arrival and he was denied permission to follow the advance of the Army of the Potomac.

*My Diary, North and South* was first published in 1863. The present work is an abbreviated edition. Cost, unfortunately, made it necessary to reduce the new edition to about one-third of the original. The editor assumes responsibility that "no essential fact or opinion, or above all no important personal contact has been omitted." Because of the very size of the abridgement that statement is open to argument. Omitted, e.g., are Russell's observations on the reception accorded his reports on Bull Run by the northern press in Chapter LIII. Generally, despite Russell's status as a newspaper man his opinions on the press are not found.

Russell stood apart from the events he recorded in the role of a disinterested observer. He did conclude wrongly that the break between the states would be more permanent than it actually was, yet the value of his work is apparent. Fletcher Pratt's edition has the merit of readability for anyone interested in an absorbing account of the beginnings of the Civil War. For the student it is no substitute for the original. Russell's "Introductory" is not included in the new edition. There is a preface by the editor. Headings listed under each chapter in the first edition necessarily had to be omitted. The new edition like the old has no index. (FRANCIS HUELLER)

SAINT-PIERRE, MICHEL DE. *Bernadette and Lourdes.* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Young. 1954. Pp. xvi, 267. $3.50.)

Controversy and skepticism about Lourdes and its miracles should receive something of a quietus with the reading of this life of St. Bernadette. All the sifting processes of the historian, the analytical observations of the scientist, the meticulous probings of the theologian are, in a sense, met here in an authentic study. The technique follows a tripartite arrangement, covering the apparitions, the condemnations, the miracles, closely interwoven with the religious, political, and scientific implications. In the section devoted to "The Silence," one senses the political anomaly. When Jacomet and Dutour, arch-representatives of the Third Republic, appear pitted against the intrepid Louis Veuillot and that adamant protagonist of truth, Abbé Peyramale, there is no escaping the undercurrent of anti-clericalism. Yet the spotlight is on Bernadette, on her own simple, silent devotion to her "Lady." Incidentally, Saint-Pierre exonerates the novice mistress, Mother Marie Thérèse Vanzou, from the unfounded, harsh criterion of Franz Werfel.

Finally "The Epilogue" is so closely associated with the scientific, that herein especially lies the author's claim to adding to the lustre of Lourdes. For here is the challenge *par excellence* to the agnostics, who so often forget that the Church itself tries to prove that there are *not* miracles, and "that neither at Lourdes nor elsewhere does God ever upset the laws of nature He created Himself." But one must read these documented accounts to know the *raison d'être* for medical cures and for those greater miracles of faith. Whether, then, from the scientific or practical, the historic or literary, the religious or philosophical standpoint, this book is one of the most satisfying biographies of Bernadette Soubirous. (SISTER M. EVANGELINE STEINMANN)

SMITH, HARRISON. *Britain in Malta,* Volume I, *Constitutional Development of Malta in the Nineteenth Century;* Volume II, *Italian Influence on British Policy in Malta, 1899-1903.* (Malta: Progress Press Co. Ltd. 1954. Pp. xvii, 257; xviii, 204. $3.75 for both volumes; $2.00 each.)

Presented as a dissertation at Georgetown University, Volume I of this work summarizes the religious, linguistic, and political problems in Malta in relation to the granting of representative government in 1887. That constitution had a brief existence of only sixteen years, because of the opposing views of two Maltese leaders, Fortunato Mizzi and Gerald Strickland, and the policy of Joseph Chamberlain. In the last years of representative government Italy first showed an active interest in the language question. That interest was naturally treated briefly in Volume I, then expanded into another dissertation for the University of Fribourg, or into Volume II. Italy's pressure helped to influence Chamberlain in withdrawing the proclamations of 1899 and 1901. Then Italy became indifferent and made no protest when Chamberlain revoked the constitution in 1903.

Certainly no student could understand the two suspensions of the constitution of 1921 and its revocation without these two studies. For the second Dr. Smith used unpublished documents in Malta, in London and from Rome (Appendix, pp. 173-204). He has definitely shown the indefatigability, imagination, and critical sense which are necessary for research. Unfortunately, his presentation is not of the same high standard. Many sentences are too long and too involved. One, e.g., contains three clauses beginning with "that," then within one of the clauses two lesser clauses also begin with "that" (II, 30; cf. also I, 205; II, 76). The use of a long phrase instead of simply a man's name is most awkward (I, 39 twice; cf. also II, 41, 106). Why not write "prime minister" instead of "the King's First Ministership" (II, 129; cf. also pp. 135, 153)? Repetitions sometimes appear needless, as the bestowing of English titles on Strickland (I, 61, 62, 63), the aging of Salisbury (II, 25, 26 twice ), the repeating of Steed's account (II, 49, 51). There are contradictory statements about Victor Emmanuel III's accession and his father's death (II, 14, 55), about Lansdowne's appointment (II, 55, 68), and about Sonnino's seeing Chamberlain (II, 49, 51, 77). (MARY LUCILLE SHAY)

TALBOT, C. H. (Trans. and Ed.) *The Anglo-Saxon Missionaries in Germany.* (Lives of Saints Willibrord, Boniface, Sturm, Leoba and Lebuin. St. Willibald's *Hodoeporicon* and selections from the correspondence of St. Boniface.) [Makers of Christendom Series.] (New York: Sheed and Ward. 1954. Pp. xx, 234. $3.50.)

This volume of translations carries forward the laudable movement of making important historical sources more easily accessible to the student and general reader. These works are all concerned with the correspondents and companions of the monk Wynfrith, called Boniface, and with the Anglo-Saxon missionary effort in Germany and the Low Countries in the first half of the eighth century. Here students will find not merely countless details in the lives of the saints, but also the methods and procedures involved in a great missionary enterprise. These documents throw light on the relations of Boniface with the papacy, on the development of ecclesiastical institutions, on the growth of monasticism, and on the foundation of the great schools at York and Fulda. Thanks to the work of Levison, Schieffer, and others it is clearer than ever that this missionary movement in the eighth century is important, not merely for religious reasons but also for its contributions to the institutional and cultural development of European civilization. The sins of kings, the educational activities of bishops, the ideas of princesses who became abbesses, the literary forms of the period, the accounts of the founding of bishoprics, monasteries, and convents fill these pages with innumerable details of peoples and places important in the religious and cultural history of Europe.

The translations, which are well done in accurate and readable English, are accompanied by a general introduction, a bibliographical note on the sources, and brief explanatory footnotes. The footnote on page 26 is, perhaps, too laconic to explain Willibald's confusion about Anicetus. There is no index; the

inclusion of a good index of persons, places, and things would have been of great value to historical students. However, despite this omission, this volume will be an admirable introduction to some of the sources for the period and will make real and vivid for the reader an important phase in the growth of religion and culture in northern Europe. (CHARLES P. LOUGHRAN)

WEINBERG, GERHARD L. *Germany and the Soviet Union, 1939-1941.* (Leiden: E. J. Brill. 1954. Pp. v, 218. 19 glds.)

In this slim volume we have been given a scholarly harmony of the documents relative to Soviet-German relations in the crucial years 1939-1941. Only one who has worked with the documents of the Nuremberg trials could realize the laborious and yet serviceable task which Mr. Weinberg has performed. The author has skillfully correlated the trial records with the documents of the German foreign office, the United States government publication, *Nazi-Soviet Relations, 1939-1941,* and *Documents on British Foreign Policy.* To supplement this documentary record, he has utilized the personal records of German military leaders such as Halder, Jodl, and Keitel, as well as the accounts of Ciano, Gafencu, Churchill, von Weizsäcker, and others on the diplomatic scene.

Mr. Weinberg describes the fluctuating friendship which existed between the two totalitarian states during these three years, or rather, he lets the documents tell the story. The pattern of Soviet-German relations in this period is excellent testimony to the inherent weaknesses in a policy of pure expediency. Mutual confidence was excluded from the beginning; long-standing rivalries—such as that over predominance in the Balkans—remained simmering below the surface. Negotiations with other powers were used as an instrument of pressure on one's ally, and inevitably relations were strained to the breaking point.

Beginning with the Munich crisis in September, 1938, the inexorable march of events forced Hitler, despite his ideological war on communism, to secure his eastern boundary until such time as he would feel strong enough to reverse his alliance. On June 22, 1941, came the dramatic military attack on the Soviet Union. Mr. Weinberg claims that the weight of evidence supports the theory that Hitler had determined on this course of action in July, 1940. Why had Hitler done so? Neither Russian pressure in the Balkans nor her incorporation of the Baltic states is upheld as the reason for his decision, and this is where Mr. Weinberg disagrees with other authors. "Embittered by the refusal of England to acknowledge defeat, he hoped to encompass her collapse by first crushing Russia and thus making himself stronger." The facade of an anti-communist crusade came later; in July, 1940, no ideological factors dominated the discussion.

The heavy documentation of this small book does not make for easy reading, but it is precisely in the documentation that its value lies. The excellent bibliography of both published and unpublished documents will make considerably lighter the burden of future researchers. (MOTHER MARY ALICE GALLIN)

WINSTON, RICHARD. *Charlemagne from the Hammer to the Cross.* (Indianapolis and New York: Bobbs-Merrill Co., Inc. 1954. Pp. vii, 346. $3.75.)

Well introduced by the writer of the blurb on the jacket of the book, the author and his work appealed to us even though on reading it we found some faults which we are inclined to attribute to his thinking that Vermont, where he makes his home, affords a "congenially mediaeval atmosphere," as the writer of the blurb notes. Withal, Mr. Winston, although inspired in his first historical adventure by Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire,* has provided the lay reader with an entertaining biography of the great Frankish king. Happily he reflects very little of his eighteenth-century inspirer's style and less of his Age of Enlightenment views. An historian, however, must weigh his words, choosing them carefully, and roam over many fields, digging deep into them as he moves along, in order to present a tolerably true picture of times far in the past. There is, e.g., a great difference between the adoration or worship of relics and images on the one hand and their veneration on the other. Certainly a little more searching would have informed the author that the sacrament of extreme unction was in use in Charles' time, even though he himself is not recorded as having received it. Mr. Winston's book is provided with an extensive and well-selected list of authorities, maps of the Frankish realm in 769, and an adequate index. (FRANCIS J. TSCHAN)

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The "Original Returns" and Domesday Book. P. H. Sawyer (*ibid.,* Apr.)
Loans to the English Crown, 1328-31. E. B. Fryde (*ibid.*)
Henry of Harclay's Question on the Univocity of Being. Armand Maurer, C.S.B. (*Mediaeval Studies,* Vol. XVI 1954)
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The Place of Irish Saints in Late Mediaeval English Hagiography. John Hennig (*ibid.*)
The Proverbs of Serlo of Wilton. A. C. Friend (*ibid.*)
The Letter-Books of Christ Church, Canterbury (1296-1536). T. F. Lindsay (*Dublin Rev.,* 2nd quart. 1955)
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A Fifteenth-Century Manual-Fragment from St. Andrews. Ian T. Gillan (*Innes Rev.,* Spring 1955)
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Archdeacon John McEncroe (1795-1868), VI. Roger Wynne (*Australasian Cath. Rec.,* Apr.)
The Irish Executive in the Nineteenth Century. R. B. McDowell (*Irish Histor. Studies,* Mar.)
Mixed Education and the Synod of Ulster, 1831-40. T. O'Raifeartaigh (*ibid.*)
Our Lady in Ancient Irish Hymns. James F. Cassidy (*Amer. Eccles. Rev.,* July)
A Sixth Century Parochial Sermon in the Morgan Library. Henry G. J. Beck (*ibid.*)
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Von Hügel and Ecclesiastical Authority. Joseph Clifford Fenton (*ibid.*)
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The Vikings in America: A Critical Bibliography. T. J. Oleson (*Canad. Histor. Rev.*, June)
College Founding in the American Colonies, 1745-1775. Beverly McAnear (*Miss. Valley Histor. Rev.*, June)
Voices of Protest from the New South, 1875-1910. Herbert J. Doherty, Jr. (*ibid.*)
The Treatment of Prisoners of War in Britain during the American War of Independence. Olive Anderson (*Bull. of the Institute of Histor. Research*, May)
Slavery and the Ohio Circuit Rider. Paul H. Boase (*Ohio Histor. Quart.*, Apr.)
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A King in Baltimore. The Life of Cardinal Gibbons. (*The Month*, July)
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Negro Churches in the Alabama Black Belt. Glenn N. Sisk (*ibid.*)
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The Political Mind of the Negro, 1865-1900. Elsie M. Lewis (*Jrn. of Southern Hist.*, May)
Ethelbert Talbot. October 9, 1848 - February 27, 1928. C. Rankin Barnes. (*Histor. Mag. of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, June)
The Strange Quest for an American Conservatism. Bernard Crick (*Rev. of Politics*, July)
"The Public Philosophy" The Alternative. Archibald MacLeish (*Yale Rev.*, Summer 1955)
A Rejoinder. Walter Lippmann (*ibid.*)
L'Honorable Compagnie de la Baie d'Hudson et les missions des Oblats, 1844-1861. Gaston Carrière, O.M.I. (*Revue de l'Université d'Ottawa*, July)
Quelques documents nouveaux sur Nicholas Denys. René Baudry, C.S.C. (*Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique Française*, June)
Nicolas Denys, pionnier acadien. Roger Comeau (*ibid.*)
Saint Antoine Daniel, martyr canadien (suite). Fernand Potvin, S.J. (*ibid.*)
Les premières difficultés entre Mgr Bourget et l'Institut canadien de Montréal (1844-1865). Marcel Dandurand (*Revue de l'Université d'Ottawa*, Apr.)
The Three Battalions in the Spiritual Conquest of Mexico. Francis Borgia Steck, O.F.M. (*Records* of the Amer. Cath. Histor. Soc. of Phila., Mar.)
The Formative Years of Catholic Colleges Founded before 1850 and still in Existence as Colleges or Universities. Edward J. Powers (*ibid.*)
Most Reverend William Gross: Missionary Bishop of the South. Andrew Skeabeck, C.SS.R. (*ibid.*)
Pedro de Mercado and Mexican Jesuit Recruits. Ernest J. Burrus (*Mid-America*, July)
Philippine Linguistics and Spanish Missionaries—1565-1700. John Leddy Phelan (*ibid.*)
Intendants and Cabildos in the Viceroyalty of La Plata, 1782-1810. John Lynch (*Hispanic Amer. Histor. Rev.*, Aug.)
Spanish Slave-Ships in the English West Indies, 1660-1685. A. P. Thornton (*ibid.*)
The G. R. G. Conway Collection in the Library of Congress: A Checklist. Schafer Williams (*ibid.*)
Francisco de Urdiñola's Census of the Spanish Settlements in Nueva Vizcaya, 1604. Woodrow Borah (*ibid.*)
Cristianismo, política y sociedad en Hispanoamérica. Aníbal Ismodes Cairo (*Studios Americanos*, Jan.)

# BOOKS RECEIVED

Baron, Hans. *The Crisis of the Early Italian Renaissance. Civic Humanism and Republican Liberty in an Age of Classicism and Tyranny.* 2 Vols. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1955. Pp. xxix, 378; x, 379-656. $10.00.)

Barreira, Wagner. *Liberdade e dirigismo no contrato.* (Brazil: "Instituto do Ceará." 1955. Pp. 81.)

Baugh, Virgil E. (Comp.). *Records of the Extension Service.* Preliminary Inventories No. 83. (Washington: General Services Administration. 1955. Pp. v, 37.)

*Bibliografía histórica de España e Hispanoamérica,* Vol. I. (Teide, Barcelona: Centro de Estudios Internacionales, Universidad de Barcelona. Editorial Teide, Barcelona. 350 ptas). This bibliography brings together the first eight fascicles of *Indice histórico español,* published under the editorship of Jaime Vicens Vives and various collaborators. It contains 6,871 items classified according to periods and indexed by author and content. The items are reviewed in a few lines over the initials of the reviewer, or there is a reference to a review. The bibliography affords an admirable means of securing information on recent publications concerning Spanish history.

Bonifačić, Antun F. and Clement S. Mihanovich (Eds.). *The Croatian Nation in Its Struggle for Freedom and Independence. A Symposium by Seven Croatian Writers.* (Chicago: "Croatia" Cultural Publishing Center. 1955. Pp. xvi, 441.)

Brillant, Maurice and René Aigrain (Eds.). *Histoire des Religions.* Volume 3: *La religion égyptienne,* by E. Drioton; *Les religions préhelléniques,* by P. Demargne; *Les religions de la Grèce antique,* by E. des Places; *La religion romaine,* by P. Fabre (Paris: Bloud et Gay. 1955. Pp. 443. Ffrs. 1750). This is the best of the three volumes which have appeared to date in this series. All contributors are recognized specialists in their respective fields, and their presentations are systematic, critical, and authoritative. There is a short bibliography at the end of each section, but the volume, unfortunately, has no index.

Boyd, Maurice. *Cardinal Quiroga. Inquisitor General of Spain.* (Dubuque: William C. Brown. 1954. Pp. xi, 163. $3.00.)

Brooks, Eric St. John (Ed.). *The Irish Cartularies of Llanthony Prima and Secunda.* (Dublin: Stationery Office. 1953. Pp. xxx, 345. £2/10/.) These documents, carefully edited for the Irish Manuscripts Commission, provide new fragments of information concerning the economic organization of the Church in mediaeval Ireland. There is a helpful introduction by the editor.

Brown, Stephen J., S.J. *Image and Truth. Studies in the Imagery of the Bible.* (Rome: Catholic Book Agency. 1955. Pp. 161.) This volume, by a former professor of Scripture, contains eleven chapters, some of them reprints from previously published articles. His aim has been "to open up a field of study" and, as he states in his foreword, it makes "no pretensions to be a complete treatise on Scripture imagery" (p. 7).

Callahan, Sr. Mary Generosa, C.D.P. *The History of the Sisters of Divine Providence, San Antonio, Texas.* (Milwaukee: Bruce Press. 1955. Pp. xv, 304. $6.50.)

Carr, Sir Cecil. *A Victorian Law Reformer's Correspondence.* [Selden Society Annual Lecture delivered in the Old Hall of Lincoln's Inn on 24th March, 1955.] (London: Bernard Quaritch. 1955. Pp. 26.)

Cattell, David T. *Communism and the Spanish Civil War.* [University of California Publications in International Relations. Vol. IV.] (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1955. Pp. xii, 290. Paper $2.75, cloth $3.75.)

Cheney, C. R., and W. H. Semple (Eds.). *Selected Letters of Pope Innocent III concerning England (1198-1216).* (New York: Oxford University Press. 1955. Pp. xliii, 248. $4.80.)

Dalzell, George W. *Benefit of Clergy in America.* (Winston-Salem: John F. Blair. 1955. Pp. 299. $4.50.)

de Sauvigny, Guillaume de Bertier. *La restauration.* (Paris: Librairie Ernest Flammarion. 1955. Pp. 652. 1150 francs.)

Dwyer, John T. *One Hundred Years an Orphan. St. Vincent's Home for Boys at San Rafael. 1855-1955.* (Fresno: Academy Library Guild. 1955. Pp. 160. $3.00.) This volume, by the chaplain of St. Mary's Hospital in San Francisco, tells the story of the century of life of St. Vincent's Home for Boys. Father Dwyer has made use of both archival and printed sources and has included a number of illustrations and charts. The only feature of the exterior aspects of the book that is open to criticism is the quality of paper. The glossy paper makes the volume far too heavy a weight for its 160 pages.

Ehrenberg, Victor, and A. H. M. Jones. *Documents Illustrating the Reigns of Augustus and Tiberius.* (Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1955. Pp. xii, 171. $3.40.) This is a revised and enlarged edition of a volume which first appeared in 1949. It contains a representative collection of documents dating from 43 B.C. to A.D. 37, including inscriptions, coins, papyri, etc.

Evans, Clifford. *A Ceramic Study of Virginia Archeology.* With appendix: *An Analysis of Projectile Points and Large Blades* by C. G. Holland. Smithsonian Institution Bureau of American Ethnology. Bulletin 160. (Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office. 1955. Pp. vii, 195; 30 plates. $1.25.)

Fletcher, Stevenson Whitcomb, *Pennsylvania Agriculture and Country Life, 1840-1940.* Illustrations by S. W. Fletcher, Jr. (Harrisburg: Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. 1955. Pp. xx, 619. $3.50.)

Foley, Albert S., S.J. *God's Men of Color. The Colored Catholic Priests of the United States, 1854-1954.* (New York: Farrar, Straus & Co. 1955. Pp. x, 322. $4.50.)

Gallin, Mother Mary Alice, O.S.U. *Ethical and Religious Factors in the German Resistance to Hitler.* A Dissertation. (Washington: Catholic University of America Press. 1955. Pp. x, 231. $2.50.)

Geiger, Maynard J., O.F.M. (Trans.). *Palou's Life of Junípero Serra.* (Washington: Academy of American Franciscan History. 1955. Pp. xxx, 547. $8.50.)

Geyl, Pieter. *Debates with Historians.* (Hague: Martinus Nijhoff. 1955. Pp. viii, 241. 12.40 guilders.)

Inglis, Brian. *The Freedom of the Press in Ireland, 1784-1841.* (London: Faber and Faber, Ltd. 1954. Pp. 256. 25s net.)

Jones, William H. *The History of Catholic Education in the State of Colorado.* (Washington: Catholic University of America Press. 1955. Pp. xl, 574. $5.25.) This volume is a Ph.D. dissertation in education done by a priest of the Archdiocese of Denver.

Jurgens, W. A. *The Priesthood. A Translation of the PERI HIEROSYNES of St. John Chrysostom.* (New York: Macmillan Co. 1955. Pp. xxv, 133. $2.50.)

Kaiser, Sister M. Laurina. *The Development of the Concept and Function of the Catholic Elementary School in the American Parish.* (Washington: Catholic University of America Press. 1955. Pp. ix, 149. $1.75.) This is a Ph.D. dissertation in education done by a Benedictine nun of Yankton, South Dakota.

Krey, August C. *History and the Social Web. A Collection of Essays.* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 1955. Pp. vii, 269. $4.00.)

Kucera, Daniel W., O.S.B. *Church-State Relationships in Education in Illinois.* (Washington: Catholic University of America Press. 1955. Pp. xl, 252. $2.75.) This volume by a monk of St. Procopius Abbey, Lisle, Illinois, is the most recent in a series of monographs directed by Professor Francis P. Cassidy covering the relations of Church and State in education in various states of the American Union. Previous numbers in the series have treated California, Connecticut, Maryland, and New York. Father Daniel's book traces the history of religious education in Illinois from the period of the French Catholic missionaries of the seventeenth century through the years of tension caused by the nativist movement of the 1840's and 1850's down to the decision of the United States Supreme Court in March, 1948, which grew out of the protest of Mrs. Vashti McCollum, a professed rationalist of Champaign, Illinois, against Illinois' widespread program of released time for religious instruction in the public schools. The work is well documented and carries an extensive bibliography, seven charts, and an index.

Land, Aubrey C. *The Dulanys of Maryland: A Biographical Study of Daniel Dulany, the Elder (1685-1753) and Daniel Dulany, the Younger (1722-1797).* [Studies in Maryland History No. 3.] (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society. 1955. Pp. xviii, 390.)

Lewis, Naphtali, and Meyer Reinhold. *Roman Civilization—Selected Readings Edited with an Introduction and Notes.* Volume II: *The Empire.* [Number XLV of the Records of Civilization. Sources and Studies Edited under the Auspices of the Department of History, Columbia University]. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1955. Pp. xii, 652. $7.50. Vols. I-II $12.50.) Some 600 selections from the sources are presented, a third of which appear in English translations for the first time. The liberal number of selections covering paganism and Christianity (totaling nearly sixty pages) is most welcome. Introductions and notes are adequate, there is a short glossary of frequent terms, a bibliography (confined, however, to works in English), and good indices.

McCloskey, Michael B., O.F.M. *The Formative Years of the Missionary College of Santa Cruz of Querétaro, 1683-1733.* (Washington: Academy of American Franciscan History. 1955. Pp. 128. $4.00.)

Mandel, Bernard. *Labor: Free and Slave. Workingmen and the Anti-Slavery Movement in the United States.* (New York: Associated Authors. 1955. Pp. 256. $3.00.) This work is based on research that goes only as deep as newspapers. The thesis that labor was behind the anti-slavery movement is an attempt to correct the contrary impression left with most historians by the draft riots. The author's class-warfare slanting by selectivity of sources, special pleading, and gratuitous assertions linking together his hard-earned findings detracts from the book's value.

Marcel, Gabriel. *The Decline of Wisdom.* (New York: Philosophical Library. 1955. Pp. viii, 56. $2.50.)

Maritain, Jacques. *Bergsonian Philosophy and Thomism.* Translated by Mabelle L. Andison in collaboration with J. Gordom Andison. (New York: Philosophical Library. 1955. Pp. 383. $6.00.)

Mattingly, Garrett. *Renaissance Diplomacy.* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co. 1955. Pp. 323. $6.00.)

Maynard, Theodore. *Bloody Mary.* (Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co. 1955. Pp. viii, 297. $4.95.)

Mundy, John H., Richard W. Emery, Benjamin N. Nelson (Eds.). *Essays in Medieval Life and Thought. Presented in Honor of Austin Patterson Evans.* (New York: Columbia University Press. 1955. Pp. xviii, 258.)

O'Connor, Sister Mary Consolata. *The Historical Thought of François Guizot.* (Washington: Catholic University of America Press. 1955. Pp. x, 98. $1.25.) This volume is a doctoral dissertation done under the direction of Professor Friedrich Engel-Janosi at the Catholic University of America. In her coverage of Guizot's career as an historian the author has chapters on his concept of civilization, the foundations of France, the third estate, and his general philosophy of history. There is a six-page bibliography and an index.

Orchard, W. E. *Sancta Sanctorum. Prayers for the Holy of Holies.* (New York: Philosophical Library. 1955. Pp. xi, 210. $3.50.) Dr. William E. Orchard died on June 12, 1955, at the age of seventy-eight. He had become a convert to the Church in 1932 and was ordained a priest of the Archdiocese of Westminster in 1935. This book contains a number of prayers that he composed over the years.

Pantin, W. A. *The English Church in the Fourteenth Century. Church and State, Intellectual Life and Controversy, Religious Literature.* (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1955. Pp. xi, 291. $5.00.)

Perros, George P. (Comp.). *Records of the Select Committee of the House of Representatives to Investigate Acts of Executive Agencies beyond the Scope of Their Authority 1943-46.* Preliminary Inventories No. 84. (Washington: General Services Administration. 1955. Pp. v, 64.)

Powell, Ralph L. *The Rise of Chinese Military Power, 1895-1912.* (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1955. Pp. ix, 383. $6.00.)

Quenard, P. Gervais. *Hier. Souvenirs d'un octogénaire.* (Paris: P. Lethielleux. 1955. Pp. 143.)

Redfield, Robert and Milton Singer (Eds.). *The Little Community. Viewpoints for the Study of a Human Whole.* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1955. Pp. 182. $4.00.)

Riis, P. J. *An Introduction to Etruscan Art.* (New York: Philosophical Library. 1954. Pp. 144, 82 plates. $10.00.) This is a thorough reworking of a more popular book in Danish by the same author, who is professor of classical archaeology in the University of Aarhus. It is an excellent up-to-date introduction to Etruscan art. Each chapter is followed by a bibliographical note. The plates in some instances are rather small, but are clear. There is a good index. It is a pity that the price is so high.

Sobrinho, Th. Pompeu. *Pré-História Cearense.* [Monografia No. 3, Tomo 1°. *História do Ceará.*] Coleção Instituto do Ceará. (Brazil: "Instituto do Ceará." 1955. Pp. xi, 150.)

Steer, Alfred G., Jr. *Goethe's Social Philosophy As Revealed in Campagne in Frankreich and Belagerung von Mainz.* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1955. Pp. xi, 178. Cloth $5.00, paper $4.00.) This monograph by a member of the University of Pennsylvania faculty is No. 15 of the University of North Carolina Studies in the Germanic Languages.